

R. Dalrymple (D.) Gal. 5. Ca

MEMORIALS
AND
LETTERS
RELATING TO THE
HISTORY OF BRITAIN
IN THE
REIGN
OF
CHARLES THE FIRST.

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS.

GLASGOW:

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TO
ROBERT DUNDAS
OF
ARNISTON, Esquire,
LORD PRESIDENT
OF
THE COURT OF SESSION,
IN MEMORY
OF HIS FRIENDSHIP AND PATRONAGE,
THE EDITOR
INSCRIBES THIS COLLECTION.

TO

ROBERT DUNDAS

OF

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

FOR THE PARLIAMENT

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

AND THE HOUSE OF LORDS

IN THE PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND IRELAND

IN THE YEAR 1801

P R E F A C E.

WHEN I first published a collection of "Memorials and Letters relating to the reign of James I." I did not imagine that it would have proved exceedingly offensive to any reader.

The collection, however, has given very great offence; I am charged, in general, with having inhumanly exposed the follies of past times; and, in particular, with having placed King James and his courtiers in an unfavourable point of view: it is added, that I have indirectly, and by silent comparison, endeavoured to make my fellow-subjects sensible of certain supposed advantages arising from the Revolution.

With respect to the last part of the charge, I have only this short defence

to offer, that an attempt to conciliate men to the government under which they live, by a genuine representation of the government under which their forefathers lived, is an attempt justifiable at least, if not praise-worthy.

If King James and his courtiers have been placed in an unfavourable point of view, the fault is not mine: when I presumed to publish what they wrote, I did not suppress any letters which might have done honour to their understanding or their morals; my readers, therefore, instead of censuring me, ought to lament the scantiness of my materials.

If I have exposed the follies of past times, I have done no more, as a compiler, than what the historian does who prefers truth to adulation.

That it is inhumane to expose the follies of former ages is a dangerous

principle. Does humanity require us to draw a veil over the deformities of past times, or to persuade ourselves, that, in those days, all kings were fathers of their people, all lawgivers judicious, and all statesmen wise and upright? it follows of necessary consequence, that history, if studied at all, ought to be studied in Genealogies and Peerages, in Epistles dedicatory and funeral Panegyrics; although those benevolent performances neither improve the understanding nor enlarge the mind, they do not contain any thing that can shock humanity; and may I be permitted to add, they seldom contain any thing disgusting to the pride of family, or to the prejudices of education.

In the hope that the intelligent reader will accept of this apology, I now present to the public a volume, con-

taining "Memorials and Letters relating to the reign of Charles I." They are chiefly transcribed from the manuscripts amassed with indefatigable industry by the late Mr. Robert Wodrow*. Some volumes of that large collection now belong to the Church of Scotland, others, to the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, the rest are in the possession of Mr. Patrick Wodrow, minister at Torbolton; from all those volumes I have been permitted to transcribe whatever suited my purpose.

Lord Conway's "Relation of the Passages in the Northern Expedition" is printed from the copy preserved in the British Museum: concerning this Relation I need only say,

* Author of the History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution, in two volumes folio.

that Earl Hardwicke was of opinion that it well deserved to be made public.

A few of the letters contained in this volume were communicated to me by some of my friends. Had not my plan been misunderstood, it is probable that more persons, possessed of original letters, would have contributed their assistance to a work which has *the truth of history* for its aim.

They who censured the first volume may perhaps shew more indulgence to the second. They will there perceive the Covenant set in a ludicrous point of view, and its abettors represented as "brutish bedlamites, knaves and traitors;" they will not be displeased at reading the character of the covenanted party, as drawn by its enemies, whatever offence the

x P R E F A C E.

character of King James and his courtiers may have given, when drawn by their own pens.

DAV. DALRYMPLE,

C O N T E N T S.

C H A R L E S I.

T O

THE LORDS OF SESSION IN SCOTLAND.

Requires the whole College of Justice to receive the communion twice a year in the chapel royal;—will not suffer them to be leaders of his other subjects to condemn the orders of the church. page 1.

A R C H B I S H O P L A U D

T O

BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

Can promise nothing as to his preferment in the church;—the King has a good opinion of him and his service, and will, no doubt, take him and his estate into his consideration;—expects that he will continue in his course, and give intelligence who they be that conform, and who not. p. 3.

A R C H B I S H O P L A U D

T O

BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

The King displeased with him for omitting prayer in the chapel royal according to the English Liturgy, and for his behaviour in some differences about the sufferings of Christ; therefore the King has passed him by, and preferred another to the see of Edinburgh;—the Archbishop advises him to apply himself better to the King's service, and the well-ordering of the church, lest he should be again passed by at the next remove;—if he be not careful of his own carriage, his friends can do nothing for him. p. 5.

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ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

The King satisfied in part, but not altogether, with the Bishop's apology;—if he continues to do what the King looks for, he will easily recover his Majesty's favour, and find the good of it. p. 8.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

Promises the King's answer with respect to those who obeyed or disobeyed his commands in receiving the communion at the chapel royal. p. 9.

PART OF A LETTER

FROM

ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

Is glad to hear of his resolutions for the ordering of the chapel royal, and that he is resolved to wear his whites, notwithstanding the maliciousness of foolish men;—the King is satisfied with his obedience and care; and he may expect, as opportunity serves, all reasonable things from his Majesty. p. 11.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

Is heartily glad to see in what a fair way the church business is;—if the Bishops continue their good example and

care, all things will settle beyond expectation; — the King has given the bishoprick of Aberdeen to Bellenden, but requires him to reside there; — relies much upon him for his well-ordering that place. p. 12.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

MAXWELL, BISHOP OF ROSS.

Preparations for printing the Scottish Liturgy; — the Archbishop is very glad that the true meaning of one canon remains still under the curtain; — hopes that it will be printed and passed with the rest; — it will be of great use for the settling that church. — Dr. Wedderburn is very able to do service, if his heart can be kept up; the Archbishop hoped that he had been already consecrated Bishop of Dunblane; laments the uncertainties that abide with him; would not have him stick at any thing, for the King will not leave him long at Dunblane. — Silver vessels and other ornaments to be provided for the chapel royal. — The Marquis of Hamilton will quit the church-lands of Aberbrothock. — The Bishop is entreated not to despond, but to serve God and the King, and leave the rest to their protection; — the Archbishop has, perhaps, juster cause of apprehension, were he to give way to such thoughts; — desires to know who they are who have promised fair concerning the church, and yet, in all judicatures, have gone against it; — no cause to suppose that the King's countenance will change, or that he will give credit to any against the church, till the church be heard; — nothing to be feared as to Lord Roxburgh, [who possesses extensive church-lands] for the King will not erect any other bishoprick in haste. p. 13.

JUXON, BISHOP OF LONDON.

TO

MAXWELL, BISHOP OF ROSS.

The Scottish canons will, perchance, at first, make more noise than all the cannons in Edinburgh-castle, but when men's ears have been used a while to the sound of them, they will not startle so much at it as at first; and, perchance, find them as useful for the preservation of the church, as the others for the commonweal. p. 18.

E A R L O F S T I R L I N G,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

MAXWELL, BISHOP OF ROSS.

The Scottish canons presented to the King;—some trifling typographical errors in them;—Young the printer the greatest of knaves;—neither he nor his servants to be trusted in printing the Liturgy. p. 19.

J. D E M A R I A

[A feigned name]

TO

A P E R S O N U N K N O W N.

Censures the former conduct of Traquair, and doubts whether he will be able, as is given out, to settle the present turmoils to the contentment of all parties. p. 20.

J. D E M A R I A

[A feigned name]

TO

A P E R S O N U N K N O W N.

Ludicrous account of the Covenant, and of the methods

used to procure subscriptions to it;—this Gordian knot must be cut;—insinuates that Hamilton, Traquair, and Argyle tender more the safety of their friends and favourites, than the advancement of the King's projects; they are prone to feed private follies and fancies, to the disgrace and ruin of the prelates, and to the overthrow of all the royal designs of the King and his father; — complains of the King's irresolution, and of his lenity towards offenders; — sending down good ships would do more than sending down proclamations;—wishes that Traquair and Argyle were detained from Scotland, or transmitted thither as prisoners;—insinuates that it is better some should die than the whole people perish.
p. 23.

J O. D E M A R I A

[A feigned name]

T O

A P E R S O N U N K N O W N.

Provision of arms and ammunition made by the Covenanters;—none on the other side;—the King's friends unable to resist the fury of those brutish bedlamites; — proposes that stores be sent to Newcastle and Carlisle, to be purchased occasionally by the King's friends; — all depends upon the King's resolution;—it is vain to provide hunting nags, except the match-hold, [i. e. to levy troops, unless the King be resolved for offensive war;] — recommends a young gentleman of quality, who had made his country people renounce the Covenant, only by assuring them that it was against the King's authority; — proposes to seize some disaffected persons. p. 30.

MR. DAVID MITCHELL
ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH,

TO

DR. JOHN LESLY, BISHOP OF RAPHOE.

The insults and danger to which those ministers were exposed who did not subscribe the Covenant;—the name of Bishop more odious to young and old than the devil's;—Traquair draws the Bishop of Galloway out to known danger, and then makes a shew of protection;—the Service Book is not a transcript of King Edward's Liturgy, though it is made somewhat like to it as to the communion, *propter Sacramentarios*; but now Service Book, Canons, High Commission, shall all be discharged, nor will the party rest here;—there are 500 commissioners of the states, who relieve one another by course, as Castor and Pollux went to hell. p. 35.

LETTER FROM A PERSON UNKNOWN

TO

TWO CONFIDENTS IN SCOTLAND.

Deliberations on the affairs of Scotland delayed till the arrival of the Marquis of Hamilton;—fears that the Scottish nobles are not firmly united;—cautions against trusting Lord Rae, who had subscribed and sworn the Covenant, but declares that it is only to do the King better service;—the King prepares arms for 20,000 men, but 200 men will not be got, in this cause, for the 20,000 arms;—many leading persons intend to settle in Scotland, rather than in America; will spend 100,000*l.* there;—the Scots are warned to provide in their agreement with the King, that there be free intercourse between the two kingdoms; by this, says the

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letter-writer, "you will get the estates and persons of
 "the English among you, and they will take none of
 "your gospel away although they communicate with
 "you."——Sends two copies of the New Testament
 with abominable pictures of horrible impiety, that come
 forth by public authority.——The Lord Lieutenant, it
 is said, hath made overtures of 16,000 men from Ire-
 land;—arms are to be sent thither;—the Earl of An-
 trim recommended to the King as one having great
 power, especially among the M'Donells, who now serve
 under Lord Lorn; he takes with the employment;—
 it is suspected that the King means to cajole and divide
 the Scots;—it is questioned how the Scots can secure
 themselves without incurring the charge of rebellion;—
 their carriage has been hitherto unexceptionable, to the
 amazement of enemies. p. 39.

A PERSON UNKNOWN TO WARISTON.

Wishes that some course may be taken for the terror and
 disgrace of the Bishops, because their public appearance
 at Glasgow, whither they were cited, might be preju-
 dicial to the cause. p. 46.

CERTAIN REMARKABLE PASSAGES IN THE LETTERS FROM MR. WILLIAM WILLIE

TO DR. BALCANQUHAL.

6000 muskets sent over to the Covenanters, by the inter-
 vention of the King of France's Ambassador to the States

General;—Bishops removed out of Parliament, because the Lords of Articles were chosen by the means of the Bishops, who depended upon the King;—the day of thanksgiving appointed by the General Assembly, a day of trembling as much as of joy. p. 47.

W A R I S T O N

T O

L O R D J O H N S T O N.

Entreats him to lay aside his intended journey to London;—insinuates that the Covenanters doubted his sincerity;—the King's hopes from divisions in Scotland;—it is neither God's nor King Charles's honour, to be served by halves;—oaths unlawful, as inconsistent with the Covenant, required by King Charles;—exhorts him to do nobly, as the noble Lord of Montrose has done, who, according to his covenant, has refused to repair to court at the King's command;—rises to a strain of rapturous declamation in praise of the Covenant;—the English are no longer formidable;—they have nothing to give;—they may love the treason, but they will hate the traitor. p. 49.

M R. W I L L I A M C O L V I L L

T O

L O R D B A L M E R I N O.

Disapproves of the draught of a letter from the covenanted Lords to the French King;—proposes another, with credentials in his own favour;—submits them to the judgment of the Earl of Lothian and Mr. Robert Leighton, [afterwards the celebrated Bishop Leighton.] p. 57.

C O N T E N T S.

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GENERAL ALEXANDER LESLIE

AND

THE EARL OF ROTHES

TO

T H E F R E N C H K I N G.

Profess their loyalty to their own Sovereign;—represent the necessity they were under of taking up arms;—on account of the antient and inviolated alliance between France and Scotland, they intreat the intercession of the French King. p. 60.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COVENANTERS
IN SCOTLAND

TO

T H E I R M E S S E N G E R T O T H E
F R E N C H K I N G.

Represent the antient alliance between France and Scotland; their own loyalty; the necessity of their arming in self-defence;—entreat the mediation of the French King;—the true state of the question between them and their Sovereign is, Whether they shall continue a free church and kingdom, or be enslaved to the passions of a foreign Prelate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and be treated like a conquered province, as Ireland; whether, in such circumstances, they ought to resist, or lay down their necks to the sword, and their consciences to the yoke;—the good services performed to the French by the Scots in former times, in diverting their enemies at home, and in sending succours abroad;—the guard of the French King's person committed to the fidelity and courage of the Scots;—a maxim of policy to assist the weaker, for keeping the balance more even;—that the

French King would be pleased to interpose with King Charles in their behalf; and when matters draw to blood, assist them either by furnishing money and arms, or by diverting their invaders;—they offer a continuance of the antient league against foreign princes in all civil quarrels;—their case different from that of the Protestants in France, as they are the whole body of the kingdom, have their religion and liberties established by law, confirmed by the oath of the King and Estates; and are authorized by law and by precedents to defend themselves;—King Charles's assisting the Catholics may be a motive to France, in requital, to grant the like. p. 62.

FROM MR. A. BORTHWICK

TO

A PERSON UNKNOWN.

Account of the pacification at Dunse;—difficulties arising from the King's calling the General Assembly at Glasgow, *a pretended Assembly*;—the people more animated than ever against Service Book and Prelates;—the English will not trouble them on this account, for they themselves rather bear those things as a burden, than entertain as a benefit;—the King heareth reason patiently, and is ready to yield to it; but there are persons about him who foment in him bad principles of policy and church-government;—the King's larger declaration full of lies;—the name of *Covenanters* imposed by adversaries;—the King will hinder no modest man to speak his mind freely, and is judicious to discern betwixt flatterers and honest men. p. 66.

C O N T E N T S.

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MR. ROBERT BURNET OF CRIMONT

TO

W A R I S T O N.

Inveighs against the proceedings of the Covenanters; justifies Sydeserf, Bishop of Galloway, as more learned and more conscientious than any of those who were upon his excommunication;—the French ministers at Paris would not believe that the Covenanters durst excommunicate any for not subscribing the Covenant, and hold the excommunication as ineffectual, being *par raison d'état seulement*;—he adds, “Be not too violent then, and do as you would be done to, for you know not how the world will turn yet ——— *aliquid dandum humanitati, saltem charitati Christianae.*” p. 72.

J O H N L O C K H A R T

TO

THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR.

The King displeased at the delay in proroguing the Scottish Parliament;—this delay and the word *unlawful* in the act abolishing Bishops are the things laid to Traquair's charge;—a report that the castle of Edinburgh is not properly supplied, and that General Ruthven, the Governor, complains of his not having his demands answered by Traquair. p. 76.

THE LEADERS OF THE SCOTTISH ARMY,

1640,

TO

A PERSON UNKNOWN, IN FRANCE.

Excuse their having detained Colonel Ereskine and his regiment; desire permission to employ him, who is in

the French King's service; request that Cardinal Richelieu may be informed that the employment which they offer to Colonel Erskine will do no prejudice to the service of the French King, but, on the contrary, promote it; promise, upon a peace, to assist Colonel Erskine in making his levies; and to shew that true Scotsmen can never forget their antient alliances, and the common interest which unites them with France. p. 79.

THE LORD CONWAY'S RELATION
CONCERNING
THE PASSAGES IN THE LATE
NORTHERN EXPEDITION, 1640.

Vindicates his own conduct;—the advices which he gave were disregarded;—orders sent to him, injudicious, or impracticable;—his troops undisciplined and disobedient;—neglect in supplying them with money and arms. p. 81.

WARISTON
TO
LORD BALMERINO.

A paper drawn up by the Scottish Commissioners, is published without their authority; the King called it a seditious libel, and told them they had thereby lost the benefit of their safe-conduct, and that he would make them repent of what they had done; Wariston suspects that some of their own number had published this paper, in order to exasperate the King;—the plague of God will light on that preferment that turns away a man's heart, or weakens his hands, in the work of God;—acknowledges that it was rash to suffer the printing of this pa-

per;—Traquair threatens to impeach Argyle, Rothes, and Wariston for treasonable speeches; and if he must fall, he will leave nothing undone to make heaven and earth fall with him. p. 107.

PART OF A LETTER

FROM

LORD MAITLAND

to

LORD BALMERINO [probably.]

The violence of the King's anger about the above-mentioned paper is past; another paper, in apology for it, has been presented; the first, however, not altogether fruitless, for the city has agreed to lend 160,000 l. to the Parliament, which they refused before. p. 110.

WARISTON

TO

LORD BALMERINO.

The Scottish Commissioners differ in opinion as to the extent of their powers;—intention of Strafford and others to attack the Marquis of Hamilton in Parliament, because they see themselves ruined by his standing more with the favour of the honest men of both kingdoms. p. 111.

CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THE LETTERS

FROM

WARISTON

TO

LORD BALMERINO.

No judgment of other business can be made till Strafford's

trial is concluded;—it is not known whether the English will stay the Scottish army, or save themselves by themselves;—great confusion and danger at London;—after much mistiness of business, the Lord, who doth his own work in his own way, seems to turn the chace;—for the Peers back the lower house in the pursuit of Strafford;—the committee of the lower house has reported the civil places of Bishops in Parliament, &c. to be unlawful; it is hoped this report will be agreed to; in order to strengthen this, the Scottish commissioners are to give in their demands for the removal of Episcopacy out of all his Majesty's dominions;—an index of their demands already given in; that concerning no war with foreigners, unless by mutual counsel, and that concerning *conservationes pacis*, displeasing to the King;—the lower house has declared, 4 or 5 only dissenting, that Bishops should have neither civil places, nor voice in Parliament;—the Earl of Cork has proved some foul points against Strafford;—commissioners come from Ireland with protestations against the Prelates; the Scottish Commissioners gave in their large demand for unity in religion and government; “all which coming on the King together, and on a sudden, you may guess what a mood they would put him in.” these good news worth solemn praise and prayer from the kirk of Scotland; advises against sending up the Laird of Keir, who might strengthen Traquair's faction and correspondence with Montrose;—the King will haste for to post away 21, [probably the Scottish army] to save Strafford and Episcopacy, but the Scots Commissioners peremptorily insist for an answer to their paper concerning unity in religion;—some of them were

moved to press disbanding the English and Irish armies,
 which could not be done without an offer, on their part,
 to disband the Scottish army ; ---- if the lower house sees
 that the King gains many of the Peers to favour Straf-
 ford, they will proceed against him by bill of *teinture* ;
 the fast in Scotland falls out timeously ; ---- the accu-
 sations against incendiaries in Scotland ought to be pre-
 pared ; ---- since mercenary advocates are not so studious
 in public pursuit for the commonwealth, as in private
 processes of well paying clients, he therefore advises that
 they be paid largely before hand ; he advises caution,
 because Traquair will make no conscience, by large
 bribes, to lay lawyers by, and make their servants re-
 veal the most secret articles that are against him ; ----
 if Wariston were not one of the chief witnesses, he
 would seek to be his pursuer ; however, if he can get
 down to Scotland, he will do his utmost to help the
 lawyers to propound things ; ---- Lord Holland is made
 General of the King's army, which is strange, while ar-
 mies should disband ; ---- the pleaders at London have
 fine rencounters of speech, but little syllogistical solidi-
 ty of matter ; ---- wishes the advocates in Scotland be bet-
 ter furnished for the trial of the incendiaries ; ---- desires
 that money be not spared to spur them on ; ---- Oneil
 and Wilmot are engaged in plots ; ---- perhaps, if the
 French should land, this island may become united ; ----
 whatever God does is best for himself and his people ;
 ---- business is going in God's old way. p. 114.

W A R I S T O N

TO

ADAM HEPBURN OF HUMBIE.

War to be expected rather than peace ; ---- the lower house

passed the bill against Strafford, about 30 dissenting;—the King will not consent to the act of oblivion, unless it be general;—threatens to charge some of the Scots as guilty of treason, and send them to be tried by their own Parliament; more probable that he will secure them as pledges for the Scots army remaining quiet.—Wariston has offered to be yoked in one chain with Traquair, and, upon their mutual accusations, that the innocent may go free, and the guilty be punished;—he is willing to suffer death, rather than that the Parliament of Scotland should be brow-beaten from their pursuit of incendiaries;—after such recriminations, the incendiaries deserve justice rather than mercy;—he adds, “If any of us be accused here, ye shall think what to do with some there, seeing we hear it comes from Montrose.”

p. 120.

WARISTON

TO

ADAM HEPBURN OF HUMBIE.

Account of his conference with the King;—the King is advised to stick on the act of oblivion, to save Traquair if he grant it, or to ensnare any English whom he apprehends to have had intelligence with Scotland, if he grant it not;—made a fair answer in other particulars; promised to get money for the pay of the Scottish army, if the Parliament of England did not speedily end that business; endeavoured to create jealousies of the Parliament;—swore that he will come to Scotland and hold a Parliament;—cried and swore, that, if the Scots excepted any, he also would except some;---- the plot of excepting some of the Scots, and of causing the King

to declare his intention of going to Scotland, is suspected to come from some of the Scots commissioners themselves, at the instigation of Traquair;---- Wariston expresses his zeal against incendiaries. as in the last letter; — he adds, “ Look to your army, and be on your
“ guard, if they could get an opportunity to rub an irreparable affront on you, paper-bonds would be soon
“ broken.”——desires that Balmerino may waken his lawyers against the incendiaries, to be more diligent and intent. p. 124.

W A R I S T O N

T O

L O R D B A L M E R I N O.

Upon the same subject with the two former letters.----He has no malice, nor particular end, but only that the honour of the kingdom be preferred to the King's point of honour; he adds, “ Command us to be stout; be diligent with your cause, prepare your armies —— the
“ lower house has given up their bill, grow in strength,
“ will not rise: they have Strafford's life, are thinking
“ on monies for us —— Lord encourage and direct
“ them.” p. 129.

W A R I S T O N

T O

L O R D B A L M E R I N O.

Repeats what he had formerly said; ---the Scottish Parliament should lay a necessity on Sir Thomas Nicolson to plead the cause for the commonwealth against the incendiaries; ----desires that enquiry be made, in the most secret manner, whether the *regalia* and the registers be all

left in the castle of Edinburgh; if Traquair or the Clerk Register have taken them away, it were a fact of clear treason;----but would have this kept close till the very day of appearance for trial.--- "The Parliament is
 "to fall to our demands, and to get us money. God is
 "going on in some hidden way for his son's crown, it
 "will break forth." p. 131.

PART OF A LETTER

FROM

LORD BALMERINO

TO

A PERSON UNKNOWN.

Observes it, as a strange mystery of these times, that some, having no principles of religion, should fall fairer in the present course of church-affairs, than others who have professed and practised, done and suffered;---as the soliciting of preferment is against the covenant, so avarice is the root of all evil;---has retained so much of the liturgy as to say "[from this] good Lord deliver us."
 p. 135.

EARL OF ROTHES

TO

WARISTON.

Desires him to keep up his worst against Traquair, till he hear from Lord Loudon, who is to receive some instructions from the King, with whom they have had hard work;----mentions a place being offered to him, he suffered the Marquis of Hamilton and others to move in it, from their sense of the good of the kingdom; if he defers to accept of it, times and dispositions are uncertain;

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thinks he is at liberty to accept of it, but will not, unless his friends approve; he adds, "On my honour, I have not failed in any jot of my duty, to my knowledge, but this is an age of unjust censuring." p. 136.

GENERAL DAVID LESLIE

TO

MR. THOMAS HENDERSON.

Reasons against his accepting a command in his own country; that it is impossible for any man so to carry himself as to please all men; that he has great ones in Scotland for his enemies; that the King, with all reverence, would see him hanged; that he could get honourable preferment abroad; yet they who have done so much for him shall command him in that cause he has sworn to. p. 138.

KING CHARLES I.

TO

THE MAGISTRATES OF GLASGOW.

Declares his willingness to give all possible assurances to preserve inviolably the graces and favours which he has of late granted to the kingdom of Scotland; and faithfully promises that he will never rule to the contrary of any thing there established, either in the ecclesiastical or civil government;---wishes God so to bless his proceedings and his posterity, as he does really make good and perform this promise;---none who justly deserve the name and punishment of incendiaries shall be screened from the hands of justice. p. 140.

EARL OF LANERICK

TO

THE MAGISTRATES OF GLASGOW

Accompanying the King's letter ;---he will not so much injure their affections to his Majesty, as to believe that any man in Glasgow will ever question the truth of his Majesty's gracious expressions. p. 142.

A PERSON UNKNOWN

TO

W A R I S T O N.

Sir John Hotham taken ;----his threatening letter to the speaker of the house of commons ;---although providence balances the success of the war alternately, yet it is very remarkable that no plot against the parliament hath escaped discovery ;----Lord Fairfax's defeat at Tadcaster will advance the treaty with the Scots ;----if the English could do their business by themselves, they would save the Scots a labour, and themselves much money, and some credit ;---the Scots ought, by a powerful mediation, to reconcile King and Parliament ;----as the Scots have cleared themselves from the charge of their aiming at the King's authority, they will be very fit mediators to undeceive the King, and clear the Parliament ;----Sir William Waller as great a terror to the Royalists as Scanderbeg to the Turks ;----Essex's delays in carrying on the war, and his desires for an accommodation with the King, are censured ;---*cunctando rem restituere* will not serve at all times ;---many men have attempted basely to betray a good cause, but God will finish it happily ;---need of General Officers in Essex's army ;---Skippon, a very honest man, but a low country foldier ;---the Scots

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are exhorted to zeal for the good and peace of the two kingdoms, chiefly in what concerns religion; and to be ready, in their stations, when the cause of God requires their assistance;----Percy and Wilmot, two delinquents, promoted to the peerage. p. 143.

M R. R O B E R T B A I L L I E

T O

M R. W I L L I A M S P A N G.

Curious narrative of Montrose's success, and its causes;---the Scots constant in all duties to the English, notwithstanding their ingratitude and provocations;---account of the new-modelled army;----some suspect that it will conclude a treaty with the King, to the prejudice of the Presbyterians;----sundry wise men believe that it is not so full of sectaries, and are assured of its honesty and obedience to the Parliament;---if the new-modelled army should prove unsuccessful, the Scottish army, strengthened by English officers, now out of employment, may do their business. p. 149.

L O R D B A L M E R I N O

T O

W A R I S T O N.

Hopes that the uncircumcised Philistines [Montrose's army] are hardened to their own ruin, though to the humiliation of the covenanted party;----laments the state of the nation, the selfishness of some, and the over-security of all;---proposal for engaging the Dutch to assist the Scots in Ireland; Galway and other places, excellent invitations, as cautionary towns, for them;----they who are not forward to entertain this proposal, may be suspected;

EARL OF LANERICK

TO

THE MAGISTRATES OF GLASGOW

Accompanying the King's letter ;---he will not so much injure their affections to his Majesty, as to believe that any man in Glasgow will ever question the truth of his Majesty's gracious expressions. p. 142.

A PERSON UNKNOWN

TO

W A R I S T O N.

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---some supply must be had, for the Scottish Parliament have no further means of raising money. p. 154.

ALLAN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL

TO

SIR JAMES GRANT OF FREUCHIE.

Praises God that he and his friends are innocent of any intention of spoiling the country of the Grants; his friends went to Murray-land, where all men take their prey, and spoiled the lands of the Laird of Moynes, not knowing that he was a Grant;---a fray ensued, in which Lochiel had eight of his friends killed, and more, dangerously wounded;---proposes that the matter may be settled by the arbitration of their common friends. p. 156.

ALLAN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL

TO

THE EARL OF SEAFORTH.

On the same subject with the preceding letter;---entreats the friendly interposition of Lord Seaforth;---excuses his poor friends, for that they had no choice but to fight or die. p. 158.

EARL OF LANERICK

TO

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

Entreats Mr. Baillie to judge favourably of him, until he have an opportunity of clearing himself from calumnies; --- professes that his affectionate desires have been to serve his country according to his covenant. p. 159.

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MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

THE EARL OF LANERICK.

In answer to the preceding letter ; pathetically exhorts him, and all Scotsmen, to lay aside their animosities, and consult the welfare of their distressed country ;---if they continue at variance, the King will be brought down, and the power of the nobles abolished ; this, says Mr. Baillie, " is somewhere in the world much desired, and " far advanced, though my heart did ever abhor it." P. 161.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

The prevalent party, the Independants, desire nothing so much as the King's refusal of any one of the propositions sent to him ;---it is the design of many to abolish monarchy, and settle themselves in a new kind of popular government ;---the Prince's going to France furthers this design ;---if the King agree to all the propositions, the majority are willing that he should return with so much power and honour, as may, in a little time, bring him to all his just and pious desires ;---he deceives himself, if he expects any divisions ; for, unless he pass the propositions, all will agree to ruin him, his family, and adherents ;----divers, from whom it was least expected, are for putting away the whole royal race. [24th April, 1646.] Scotland will be ruined unless the King agree to the propositions ; though he should swear it, no man will believe that he sticks upon Episcopacy for any conscience ;---improper persons on the committee, occasioned by the insuperable wilfulness of some, but

without any design to irritate the King;---hopes that Richmond, Hamilton, and Argyle will do their uttermost to persuade the King to do his duty;---necessary for the interest of Scotland, that those noblemen be really reconciled to one another;---he adds, "It has been the King's perpetual fault, to grant his people's desires by bits, and so late, he ever lost his thanks. Must we yet wait an oracle from France." p. 164.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

The Commons have voted that the Scottish army shall be gone, that, when they go, 50,000 l. shall be paid, and as much upon delivery of the garrisons; this is an evidence, among many more, of this people's intentions towards the Scots;---the faction rejoices at the King's obstinacy.--- "If the King," says Mr. Baillie, "would do his duty, in spite of all knaves, all would in a moment go right; but if God have hardened him, so far as I can perceive, this people will strive to have him in their power, and make an example of him; I abhor to think of it what they speak of execution." [9th May, 1646.]---Every hour of delay gives advantage to the Independants. p. 166.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

To the same purpose with the preceding letter;---the King must either yield to reason, or will fall in tragic miseries, without commiseration;---if he stickle on Bishops and

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delinquents, and such foolish toys, it seems he is mad ;
---if he be resolved to stop the mouths of the Scots, and
bind their hands, that they can neither speak nor do for
him, let him go on to make himself and the Scots miser-
able ;---wishes woe to the villains who have bewitched,
poisoned, and infatuated a good Prince, to the ruin of
himself and of millions. p. 168.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

To the same purpose with the preceding letter ;---hears that
France has or will loose, very easily, the scruple of con-
science as to Episcopacy ;---censures the coming of the
French ambassador to the King at Newcastle ;---all men
seek themselves above any thing, either private or public.
p. 170.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON

The King's madness has confounded them all ;---the weight
that lies on Mr. Henderson's heart is known ;---this is
feared to be the fountain of his disease. p. 172.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

Oxford, the best builded and booked university in the
world, but the worst provided of learned and orthodox
men ;---little hope of peace, or of an end of troubles ; if
the King refuse the propositions, sad votes are feared.

--- "It will be our endeavours," says Mr. Baillie, "to
 " keep the houses from sudden conclusions; they take a
 " long time to the smallest affairs, but, I fear, they be
 " too quick in deposing the King, and setting a day to the
 " Prince.----Many of the King's greatest friends think
 " his obstinacy judicial, as if, in God's justice, he were
 " destroying himself. I fear he will down with him, and
 " all his posterity, and monarchy also, in this isle."-----
 Mr. Henderson is dying of heart-break.--- "Our gran-
 " dees are like to be state-schismatics, and the worst
 " side to be the strongest.---A truly pious and really pu-
 " blic man is a rare piece upon earth." p. 173.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

It seems that most of the English are inclined to declare
 against the King, and *that* without much regret;---no
 remedy but a quick message from the King, granting all
 the propositions;---the French ambassador and his let-
 ters taken;---the Parliament's agents at Paris write of
 leagues between the King and princes on the continent;
 ---the belief of these things, how false soever, equivalent
 to the truth;----Ormond's pacification with the Irish
 very unreasonable;---the placing about the Prince's per-
 son, Hobbes, a professed Atheist, as they speak, is ill
 taken. p. 176.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. ROBERT BLAIR.

In the same strain with the letters to Mr. Henderson;---if

the King does not, within a very few days, send a simple and absolute grant of the propositions, he will quickly obtain his desire, a martyrdom; a perpetual close prison will, at least, be his portion;---they ought to be declared infamous who ensnare the King, by taking any honour, place, or promise from him, in his present condition;---those traiterous whisperers are impudent liars, who would make the King believe that the sectaries are not his extremely malicious enemies, burning for the day to cast him, and all his posterity, out of England. p. 177.

M R. R O B E R T B A I L L I E

T O

M R. W I L L I A M M U R R A Y
O F T H E B E D - C H A M B E R.

Sends a memorandum, in testimony of his love and compassion towards a perishing Prince, and three kingdoms, ready to fall in extreme miseries. p. 180.

M E M O R A N D U M

T O M R. W I L L I A M M U R R A Y.

Referred to in the foregoing letter;---after some friendly advice to Mr. Murray, he adds, if he would be thankful to his master, that he flatter him not to his ruin;---all are willing to have the King destroyed, if he continue obstinate;---his partial and qualified grants are taken for tricks to make new divisions and parties;---it is exceedingly provoking that his resolutions should depend upon France;---his kingdom will not be governed by packets from beyond sea;---if he desire not to ruin the innocent Prince, he ought to bring him quickly out of France; or, if that is not in his power, to put Hobbes, and such

wicked men from about the Prince, and place the best men in his service;---if he join with Ireland, and endeavour to embroil Scotland, the remainder of love and pity towards him, which is yet in the hearts of many, will be extinguished;---if Mr. Murray has any regard for poor Scotland, he must endeavour to divert its engagement in a new war;---such an engagement would terminate in the utter desolation of Scotland;--- Mr. Baillie is earnest that those truths should be represented to the King, because, says he, "I have many good witnesses of my respects to monarchy, and to King Charles's person, above many, if not all my fellows." p. 181.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

Falsity of the reports of Mr. Henderson's recantation on death-bed.--- "I have it," says Mr. Baillie, "under his own hand, a little before his death, that he was utterly displeased with the King's ways, and ever the longer the more." p. 184.

PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE,

TO

WARISTON.

The King greatly prepossessed against Wariston;---he thinks that they seek his ruin, who press the Covenant on him;---report of the King's resolving to go with the French ambassador; but it is likely he will take any course before he submit to the Covenant;---it is suspected that the army will not obey the orders for retiring, until they see the King settled with honour and safety. p. 285.

PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE,

T O

W A R I S T O N.

The King is resolved to suffer the worst, rather than submit to what is desired of him;----much displeased with the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament, and particularly irritated against Wariston;----difficulties in which the kingdom of Scotland may chance to be involved, by being either forced to take the King into Scotland, or to leave him without conditions;---this last, it is thought, the soldiers will never do;----Chancellor Loudon will not be so well received by the King as he deserves.
p. 188.

PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE,

T O

W A R I S T O N.

The King much displeased with the resolutions of the Scottish Parliament;---for this he blames certain persons, who have endeavoured, to their uttermost, his ruin;---he is resolved for the worst, and will suffer any thing, rather than submit to the Covenant;---it is thought that the Parliament of England will not be so rigid, in that point, as the Parliament of Scotland;---if the King be once from the Scots, they will have but an ill game to play;---his affections will be alienated from the nation, and there will be little help from England;---the King is fully resolved upon going to Holmby; he thinks that the Scots have sold him at too cheap a rate, and have absolutely quitted their interest in him.----“If,” says Lord Panmure, “our posterity find not the smart thereof, it “is well.” p. 190.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE
INHABITANTS TO THE PRESENT
STATE OF THE CITY
BY JOHN STOW
1618

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF LONDON
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CHARLES I.
TO
THE LORDS OF SESSION IN SCOTLAND.
CHARLES R.

RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COUSIN AND COUNSELLOR, AND TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED, WE GREET YOU WELL,

WHEREAS we were formerly pleased to require the Lords of our Privy Council to give order, by public proclamation, or otherways, as they should think fit, that they, and you of our College of Justice, and members thereof, should communicate twice * every year in our chapel at Holyroodhouse; but now being willing, for good considerations, that the communion be oftner celebrated there, and to nominate such times as we have thought fit for the purpose, it is our pleasure, that every first Sunday of the months of July and December yearly, that you prepare and address yourselves, with your advocates, clerks, writers, and all other members of that judicatory, to whom you shall cause intimate this our pleasure, to our said chapel, to participate of that holy sacrament, that others, by your example, may learn and observe the laudable order in that case prescribed; wherein fail not, as ye tender our princely respect and pleasure, and as ye will answer to the contrary; for we will not suffer you, who

* *once.*

2 CHARLES I. TO THE LORDS OF SESSION.

should precede others by your good example, to be leaders of our other subjects to contemn and disobey the orders of the church. So, requiring you to cause these our letters to be registred in your books of federunt, we bid you farewell.

From our mannor of Greenwich,
13th May, 1634. *

* This order is transcribed from the *books of federunt*, or the register of the Court of Session.

It seems that few of the Lords had obeyed the former order, calculated for establishing the practice of kneeling at the communion. This peremptory injunction served only to shew that the King was urging a measure disagreeable to the lawyers in Scotland; when he said "we will not suffer you to be leaders of our other subjects to contemn and disobey the orders of the church," he notified to the people that the College of Justice had contemned his orders and those of the church, and pointed out *who* were the leaders in disobedience. Nothing could be more injudicious and impolitic.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD*
TO
BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE,†
SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

YOU are much beholden to my Lord Stirling;
and for myself, I did you the best service I
could, and am glad your troublesome suits are at

* The following letters from Archbishop Laud to the Bishops Bellenden and Maxwell, were made part of the charge by the Scottish commissioners against the Archbishop in December 1640. It does not however appear, that they were ever produced in support of that charge. See *Troubles and Trial of Laud*. p. 89. 91. The letters are now in a very imperfect condition; some parts of them are worn away, others much defaced; the editor has, from conjecture, supplied a few words, and distinguished them by *Italics*. It may be proper to observe, that the letters contain some passages relating to the salaries of the choiristers in the King's chapel; such passages do not serve to illustrate the history of those times; they are therefore omitted. For a like reason, the editor has, in the course of this collection, omitted many passages which relate to private and uninteresting occurrences.

† Son of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul, Justice-Clerk, consecrated Bishop of Dunblane in 1615. *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*. p. 79.

4 ABP. LAUD TO BISHOP BELLENDEN.

an end. I hope that which the King hath now done will preserve you against your pressing necessities, through which I pray God send you a good passage; but for Westminster foes they did very much wrong you, whoever they *were*, that made those relations to you of that great sum; for my former letters told the truth to you.

Concerning your preferment, *until another* place falls, I can promise nothing; but I assure *you*, *his Majesty* hath a very good opinion both of you and your service; and therefore I *make no doubt* but that he will take you and your estate into his consideration. At this time you have given his Majesty good content, and he expects that you continue in your course; let him still receive a note who they be that conform, and who not, for I see his Majesty is resolved to go constantly on, and therefore you must not fail.

Lambeth, January 14th,

16 $\frac{3}{4}$.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD
TO
BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO,

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I AM right sorry for the death of the Bishop of Edinburgh *, the loss being very great both to the King and the church. I acquainted his Majesty how needful it was to fill that place with an able successor; and when mention was made of divers men to succeed, I did, as you desire, shew his Majesty what your desires were, and what necessities lay upon you. After much consideration of the business, his Majesty resolved to give the bishoprick of Edinburgh to my Lord of Brechin †; and for yourself, he commanded me to write expressly to you, that he did not take it well, that, contrary to his express commands, you had omitted prayer in his chapel royal according to the En-

* William Forbes, first Bishop of Edinburgh, a person of distinguished merit. See preface to the life of Bishop Bedel by Bishop Burnet.

† David Lindsay, consecrated in 1619. Of him Dr. Arthur Johnston thus speaks,

*Nec tibi Presbyteri minuit, Lindsee, labores,
Insula, nec mores mutat honoris apex.*

glish Liturgy, with some other omissions there, which please him not; besides, his Majesty hath heard that there have been lately some differences in Edinburgh about the sufferings of Christ, &c. * and that your Lordship was some cause of them; or, at least, such an occasion as might have bred much disturbance, if the late Bishop of Edinburgh his care and temper had not moderated it; and this his Majesty is not well pleased with neither: and this hath been the cause, as I conceive, why his Majesty hath passed you over in this remove; and you shall do very well to apply yourself better both to his Majesty's service, and the well ordering of the church, lest you give just occasion to the King to pass you by when any other remove falls. I am very sorry that I must write thus unto you, but the only way of help lies in yourself and your own carriage; and therefore, if you will not be careful of that, I do not see what any friend can be able to do for you. Therefore, not doubting but you will take these things into serious confide-

* The use which the Scottish commissioners made of this letter is remarkable. They said that Laud "taxed Bellenden for his boldness in preaching the sound doctrine of the reformed kirks against Mr. Mitchell, who had taught the error of Arminius in the point of the extent of the merit of Christ." To this Laud answered, "They should do well to show my letter, and then I will answer to any thing in it." *Troubles and Trial of Laud.* page 90.

BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE. 7

ration, for your own good, I leave you to the grace
of God, and rest

Your Lordship's

very loving friend and brother,

W. GANT.

Lambeth, May 6th,

1634.

A 4

ARCHBISHOP LAUD
TO
BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

MY haste at this time forces me to write very briefly. And these are to let you know, that I writ nothing in my former letter but as the King was informed, and myself by him commanded. I have now read your Lordship's letters to his Majesty, which hath in some part satisfied him, but not altogether.

And for the first, his Majesty saith, that though the gentlemen of the chapel royal did absent themselves for fear of arrests, having not to pay, and that that might hinder the service in the chapel in a solemn and formal way of singing by them; yet his Majesty thinks you might have got a chaplain of your own to have read the English Liturgy, that so the work, for the main part of it, might have gone on; and for the payment of these men, I think your Lordship knows I have done all the good offices I can, but have it not in my power to mend all the difficulties of the times.

Concerning the disturbance that was in Edinburgh, if any wrong was done your Lordship, that must lye upon them who misrepresented you to the King, whoever they were; and however the King took it not ill that you advised the then Bishop of

ABP. LAUD TO BISHOP BELLENDEN. 9

Edinburgh, to appease the differences, for that was very worthy and distreety done by you. But, as far as I remember, the charge laid upon you to the King, was, that in your own sermon, which you preached about that time, you did rather side with one party, than either repress or compose the difference; though I must needs confess to your Lordship, that, by reason of the multitude of business which lye upon me, I cannot charge my memory with the particulars.

You have done very well to acquaint the Lords of Council and Session, &c. with his Majesty's resolution concerning the communion in the chapel royal; and I doubt not, if you continue to do that which his Majesty looks for in the course of your church, and which is most just and fit to be done, but that you will easily recover his Majesty's favour, and find the good of it. So, in haste, I leave you to the grace of God; and rest

Your Lordship's

very loving friend and brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, July 1st,
1634.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE,

I HAVE a second time moved his Majesty concerning them that obeyed or disobeyed his commands in receiving the communion in the chapel at Holyroodhouse, and you shall not fail to receive his Majesty's answer by my Lord of Ross; so that I shall not need to be further troublesome to you in that particular.

Croydon, October 4th,

1634.

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PART OF A LETTER
FROM
ARCHBISHOP LAUD
TO
BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I AM very glad to hear your resolutions for the ordering of his Majesty's chapel royal, and that you are resolved to wear your whites; notwithstanding the maliciousness of foolish men. I know his Majesty will take your obedience and care very well; and being fully satisfied both concerning your sermon, and all things else committed to your trust, you may, as opportunity serves, expect from his Majesty all reasonable things; and I shall not be wanting to give you all the assistance that I can upon all occasions; of which I heartily pray you not to doubt.

Lambeth, January 12th.

1633.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

THE King has been acquainted with your care of the chapel royal, and is very well pleased with the conformity which hath been there at the last reception of the blessed sacrament; and, for my part, I am heartily glad to see in what a fair way the church business now are in those parts. I hope, if the Bishops be pleased to continue their good example, and their care, all things will settle beyond expectation.

The King hath declared his pleasure concerning your Bishopricks now void, and hath given you the bishoprick of Aberdeen, as you will learn more at large by my lord of Ross; but, being an university, and a place of consequence, he will have you reside there, and relies much upon you for your well-ordering that place. I am very glad the King hath been so mindful of you, and given you so good a testimony upon this occasion of your remove. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's

very loving friend and brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, May 19th,

1635.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD
TO
MAXWELL, BISHOP OF ROSS.

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

MY Lord Stirling is not yet come, but I have acquainted his Majesty in what forwardness your Liturgy there is, and with what approbation it is like to come forth. And, by the King's command, I have sent for Young the printer, the better to prepare him to make ready a black letter, and to bethink himself to send to his servants at Edinburgh, that so, against the Lord Stirling's coming all things might be in the better readiness, which is all the service I can do till his Lordship come.

I am very glad your Canons are also in so good a readiness, and that the true meaning of that one Canon remains still under the curtain. I hope you will take care that it may be printed and passed with the rest. 'Twill be of great use for the settling of that church.*

* Concerning this the Scots commissioners thus speak ;
 " There be some things more special, worthy to be adverted
 " unto, for discovering his spirit. First, the fourth CANON
 " of Ch. 8. *For as much as no reformation in doctrine or*
 " *discipline can be made perfect at once in any church,*

I thank you for your care of Dr. Wedderburn;* he is very able to do service, and will certainly do it, if you can keep up his heart. I was in good hope he had been consecrated, as well as my Lord of Brechin,† but I perceive he is not; what the reason is I know not, but 'tis a thousand pities that those uncertainties abide with him. I pray commend my love to him, and tell him, I would not

“ therefore it shall and may be lawful for the kirk of Scotland, at any time, to make remonstrances to his Majesty or his successors, &c. because this Canon holds the door open to more innovations; he writes to the Prelate of Ross, his prime agent in all this work, of his great gladness, that this Canon did stand behind the curtain; and his great desire, that this Canon might be printed fully, as one that was to be most useful.”

Land's answer to this charge is remarkable. “ As for that phrase, said to be in my letter, that *this Canon did stand behind the curtain*; it was thus occasioned. My Lord the Bishop of Ross writ unto me, from the Archbishop of St. Andrews, that no words might be made of this Canon; (what their reason was, they best know;) I returned answer, belike, in this sort; that *the Canon stood behind the curtain*, and would not be thoroughly understood by every man, yet advised the printing, in regard of the necessary use of it.” *Troubles and Trial of Laud.* p. 101.

* James Wedderburn, Professor of Divinity in the university of St. Andrews, Bishop of Dunblane in 1636.

† Walter Whiteford, Bishop of Brechin in 1634.

have him stick at any thing, for the King will not leave him long at Dunblane after he hath once settled the chapel right, which I see will settle apace, if he keep his footing. My letters are gone to the Bishop of Aberdeen, by the King's command, to desert his protestation concerning the chapel, and to leave the rents presently to Dr. Wedderburn; and 'twill not be long ere letters come from the King to take off the annats from the bishopricks; and Dr. Forbes being the late Bishop's executor, being a worthy man, may be better considered some other way. As for the annats of the ministers, the King is resolved not to touch them at this time.

Concerning that which you mention about fitting of the chapel, both silver vessels and other ornaments, upon the sale now to be made of some stuff of the King's; I think my Lord of St. Andrews will very shortly receive a letter, under the King's hand, to give power for all that you desire; and then, if you do not see the chapel well furnished, the blame for ever be yours.

The Bishop of Brechin is come, and my Lord of St. Andrews hath written at large by him, and I have given my Lord's Grace answer to all the particulars as well as I can. Indeed, my Lord, I hold nothing certain at court till it be done; yet I have that assurance in my Lord Marquis, that I am confident that he will pass Arbroth, full and wholly, precincts and all, and his Majesty is of the same opinion with me. Therefore I hope that both my Lord of St. Andrews fear *and yours is causeless.*

The next passage in your letter is only an expression of an apprehension which you *seem to entertain* that if they can bring you into disgrace with the King, *they will find easier passage* to damnify the church. I pray trouble not yourself with these conceits, but serve God and the King, and leave the rest to their protection. It may be such a fear were fitter for me, and perhaps I have juster cause of apprehension, would I give way to such thoughts.

In the next passage you are more confident; hold you there, and let no man stagger you in the service of God and the King. But whereas you write that some which have promised and protested fair to me concerning the church, have in all judicatures, since your last return, gone against the church, I pray name them; for I am loth to mistake persons; and then I shall not spare to acquaint the King with what they do; and, in the mean time, you have no cause to doubt, either the change of the King's countenance, or his giving full credit to any against the church, till the church be heard.

You need not fear any thing in my Lord of Roxburgh's business, for I do not believe the King will erect any other bishoprick in haste. God blefs him, and make him able to better those which are already, and stand in need of help. I do not hear of any alteration to the lesser or the more about the exchequer there; but should there be any, I have moved his Majesty that nothing be concluded till my Lord of St. Andrews judgment be known,

according as you desire. As for the instance you make in the annuity of tithes, I read that also to the King; and you cannot but remember that the King hath said enough to you. That part—— be enough.

My Lord, for the close of your letter, all that I can say is this, my assistance you shall have in all just and honourable ways for the church; but the King is so gracious of himself, that you may be better able at any time to do your own business with him, than I am able to do it for you, being not able to understand many difficulties of your businesses. Yet, considering my presence is here, where yours cannot always be, I shall be ever ready to serve you, as I have been, that is, to the utmost of my power. So, wishing you all health and happiness, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's

very loving friend and brother,

W. CANT.

Croydon, Sept. 19th,

1635.

JUXON, BISHOP OF LONDON,

TO

MAXWELL, BISHOP OF ROSS.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

UPON the receipt of your former letters, I presently repaired to my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, and got a dispatch of what you desired to have contained in your Common Prayer Book. I hope ere this it hath found the way to Edinburgh, that your proof stand not still; for I was enforced with signification of the haste it required to leave the way of conveyance upon his Grace, because, my letters coming from Newmarket, where the court then was, by an unknown hand, I knew not well how to get it returned.

With your letter of the 6th of this month I received your Book of Canons, which, perchance, at first will make more noise than all the cannons in Edinburgh-castle; but when mens ears have been used a while to the sound of them, they will not startle so much at it, as now at the first; and, perchance, find them as useful for preservation of the church, as the others for the commonweal. Our prayers here are for the happy proceedings in that great service; wherewith I rest

Your Lordship's assured friend,
to serve you,

GUL. LONDON.

London-house, 17th February, 1635.

THE EARL OF STIRLING,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

MAXWELL, BISHOP OF ROSS.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND
MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I THANK you very heartily for your Book of the Canons, which I received yesternight. I was present in the morning when my Lord of Canterbury delivered the Book to the King, which, as soon as his Majesty had read some part of it, he delivered unto me; and I was glad to hear him so well pleased therewith. I find some errors in the printer, by mistaking or renversing the letters; and therefore have the more care in looking to that in printing of the Service-Book, for Young the printer is the greatest knave that ever I dealt with; and therefore trust nothing to him nor his servants but what of necessity you must, &c.*

* The rest of this letter is of no moment. The reader may be surprized to see that the only concern of the Secretary of State seems to be about some small typographical errors committed in printing of the Canons; but it must be remembered that Lord Stirling was himself an author, and that by mentioning those errors he showed that he had revised the book.

JOHN DE MARIA

[A feigned name]

TO

A PERSON UNKNOWN.

SIGNIOR MIO ILLUSSMO,

AFTER the closing up of my other, there came a flying report of my Lord Treasurer's down coming, which I could not believe, until the next day, that I received yours, bearing date 4th February, whereby I found he had got his dispatch; and that same day, being Monday last, we learned for certain that he touched at Edinburgh upon Wednesday the 14th, from whence he went to Stirling, where he was to declare his Majesty's commandments at the council-table upon Tuesday last, being the 20th of this instant; what they are, or what effect they will work, we do not know, nor cannot guess as yet; but as for himself, it appears he hath both good friends above and strength of favour; for, to my knowledge, those who know him best in this part did fear deadly that he should not have come so fairly off. It is thought the Justice-Clerk,* whom he took along with him, hath not done him the worst offices; you may imagine how. It is given out that his Lordship hath undertaken to settle all these turmoils, to the quiet and contentment of all parties; but whether he will be

* Hamilton of Orbiston.

J. DE MARIA TO A PERSON UNKNOWN. 21

able to perform the same, to the reparation of his Majesty's honour, in all points, to the eye of the world, *dubitat Augustinus*. Indeed it is supposed, that the now most desolate city of Edinburgh shall feel the first brunt of his Majesty's indignation; fourteen of the principal potentates staid there all this while bygone, until his down coming; and whereas their Provost attempted, by a political trick to break that combination betwixt the body of the town and them, what vile indignities they threatened him withal therefore, I will forbear to specify, because the circumstances are tedious, and I make no question but you have heard something thereof already. Marry, it is most like that intended contention of theirs shall be dashed and dissipated by him; for men do think his Lordship will be better advised nor [than] to give them another act under his hand, as he did in the beginning of winter last, to be their warrant to that effect; an act, which if it had been duly notified unto, and well scanned by his Majesty, it is most like, with reverence of his great friends be it thought, that he should not have made so fair a retreat. The Bishops were gone to Stirling, and attending his Majesty's service very devoutly, before he came; but it is thought their late chosen champion is fair to besh—the barrafs * again, and that complot

* Part of a child's swaddling cloaths so termed in the Scottish language. I do not understand the rest of the sentence, which is proverbial.

22 J. DE MARIA TO A PERSON UNKNOWN.

likely to be smothered in the loode, and worried in the hofe, as being incompatible with this man's perseverant grandeur and prosperity. What further I can learn hereanent, [concerning this] I will make bold to acquaint you withal, as occasion offers, thereby intending only to satisfy your curiosity, as one who otherwise means not to intermeddle with these jars, being persuaded your greatest ambition, for the present, is only to effectuate your own private affairs; the happy issue whereof shall ever be among the chiefeft of his worldly wishes, who shall ever continue,

Signior mio,

di vostra Signoria l'humillimo servitore,

JOAN. DE MARIA.

From whence I writ the former,
23d February, 1638.

J. D E M A R I A

[A feigned name]

T O

A PERSON UNKNOWN,

MONSEIGNEUR,

YOUR worthy friend *Monsieur L'Evesque* past by here in such haste as I had not leisure to kiss his hands, and tender my service to him by mouth, much less unto you by writing; and verily he had reason, not only considering how requisite we imagine his presence was above with you, but also, that beside the dangers he past before he arrived in these parts, what plots were instantly laid here to interrupt him, which might be cleared by no small probability, if either he, or they, or his master (whose honour it concerns most) were curious to put the same to trial. As for the principal plotter we are now rid of him at last; I know not whether you would have been better pleased to have been rid of him sooner, or that he had lived longer. At that very time when he passed by here, they were at the very heat of the conglutination of their leagues and bands; and he would acquaint you by tongue with such particulars as were imparted unto him concerning their demeanour in this country; for I suppose you got not much written unto you. You may remember I was not much deceived in my conjecture concerning the

fruits of their convention in March last; of two principal points which I imagined, to wit, the renewing of their petition, and entering in a confederation among themselves. The first was concluded upon, and my Lord Napier was the man designed for the presenting thereof, who finding the same too hot (as we understand) for his fingers, and none else willing to undergo that charge, they changed their copy, and contented themselves to present their condolences to the Triumviri, I mean these three grandees of our nation, who are thought to have the principal rule of his Majesty's cares, who, (without offence be it written) are supposed, by many and good subjects, to tender more the safety of their friends, followers, and favourites in this kingdom, nor [than] they do their master's honour, which is now, in a manner, at the bar of fame, both at home and abroad) and are suspected to be more prone to feed these mens private follies and fancies, tending, with the disgrace and ruin of our Prelates, to the overthrow of all his father's and his own royal designs, nor [than] to second the projects of a master to whom they have so supereminent an obligation. I pray God in this we may be deceived, but the shrewd rumours of the behaviour of the second greatest make many men very doubtful. As for this general bond of ours, now called *the Covenant*, as I writ to you in my last, his Majesty needs not dream of any other means to undo the same than what I writ then, viz. *Gordio nodo ensis Alexandrinus*. In

the mean time, this long boggling and irresolution (for so people do take it) makes many doubtful whether he be disposed to break the same, and resent the wrong which is done him thereby in a true degree or not, which is the cause that a thousand and a thousand are come in within this month, and subscribed the same, who, otherways, had undoubtedly stood out. If you saw under what terrible maledictions they bind themselves to the performance of the tenor thereof you would admire, which, if it had not been a little bill of some four sheets of paper, you should have been witness to it yourself, for I thought to have sent it up with these presents; and if you knew what odd, uncouth, insolent, and ridiculous courses they use to draw in filly ignorant fools, fearful fashards, women and boys, I can hardly say whether it would afford his Majesty more occasion of laughter or anger. The passages in this country would take up as much bounds as the bond above-written; so that *ex ungue leonem*; you may judge, this being among the evil best, the rest would require a just historical volume. You could not have chused but laugh to have seen pipers and candle-makers in our town committed to the town-jail, by our zealous Mr. Mayor; and herdmen and hiremen laid in the stocks, up and down the country, and all for refusing to put their hand to the pen, as a thousand have done, who cannot write indeed; and yet you would have laughed better, to have seen the wives in Edinburgh, (if, *permissu superiorum*, you might have been present thereat) so many of them as could,

not subscribe (for such as could, have done it orderly indeed at a sermon on Sunday was a fortnight) hold all up their hands when *the Covenant* (for so they called it) was read, as soldiers do when they pass muster. In the West Country they will give no passenger either meat, drink, or lodging, for his money, until he first give them assurance that he is a member of this unchristian Covenant. You will not believe what sums they raise, by way of contribution, for maintenance of their commissioners, clerks, postilions, and other members of state, and yet they are not at the height of their levies; for we think verily their hooking in of women, boys, aged and impotent persons, is not only to fright his Majesty, and all their adversaries, with the opinion of an invincible and incredible multitude; as also, thereby to induce those who yet are somewhat averse to join with them, but likewise to cottise and stint them in their goods, who otherwise, when matters come to the upshot, are not able to do great personal service. This last week hath been the busiest of all others among them; and they have told these who have stood out (and that by way of threatening) that perhaps hereafter, when they would come in upon their knees, it is a question if they will get quarters; and divers of them stick not to speak it out, that they are as well friendsted in England as the King himself, albeit we do verily think these are but their accustomed brags: for I am verily persuaded, except it be some private fanatical Puritans, if the braver sort of the malecontents in his Majesty's other do-

minions were rightly informed of their senseless insolent fopperies, they would, for very shame, disdain to have any correspondence with such giddy-headed gowks. * This Wednesday next, the 18th of this instant, is the day appointed for the gathering of the commissioners over the whole kingdom, to meet at Edinburgh, and give in their muster-rolls, which are of two sorts, to wit, both of these who have subscribed the Covenant, and those who have not. You may judge whether we of the latter sort are in a *good* taking, when an insolent clavering [tatling] puppy, whose wife is a sister of our sheriff's (whose deportments, for many respects, I re-grete most of any man's in this country) and who qualifies himself as his joint-commissioner for this shire, dared be so pert as to come down to our church, and there, seeing how few were like to concur with them, say, that he desired but the names of those who should refuse to subscribe, with a note of their worths in means or otherways, and let them alone to take order with them. These, and divers other of their arrogant frumps, had not been so easily digested by the hearers, if they had been well assured that the King, whom all men counts most interested in the business, were resolute to take his own part. And I must tell you, *en passant*, that my Lord Balmerino's business is very much instanced even now, and the small thanks which those got who were most forward against him, and the light animadversion of his misdemea-

* Properly a cuckow, used for a silly fellow.

nour makes his consorts now more bold, and many, otherwise well-affected to the King, more cold. But to come back to his Majesty's interest in this business; I am sure he cannot be insensible how much it concerns him to carry this business *à haut bruit*, as a brave Prince should, when matters come to such an extremity, as a care whereupon depends not only the keeping of this unhappy kingdom, but both the other two, who will not fail to bestir themselves, when they see such beggarly snakes dare put out their horns; besides (that which a generous prince should prize most) the hazard of his reputation all Europe over. He needs not think to carry matters any length by proclamations; but if, instead of these three or four which were sent down in winter and about Shrove-tide last, he had sent down as many of his good ships, this matter had been at an end or now, without striking a stroke; but now what remedy, for at the best cheap, *expedit aliquos mori pro populo, aut aliter universa gens peribit*. He is wise enough to discern who they are that have engaged him in those tempestuous turmoils; and there are now able men enough gone up to him, who can paint all parties in their true colours. As for our Treasurer, and the grand M^cAllan O More, Prince Major of Argaloufia,* most good subjects hope, that if they be entertained according to their deserts, they will not see Scotland for a year next to come, or if they do, that it shall be to pass their time in one of his Ma-

* The Earl, afterwards Marquis of Argyle.

Jeffy's best-built houses; a course which the holy brotherhood of Edinburgh are very doubtful of concerning the latter, and therefore prays for his safe return at any rate. But because I have pricked a note too high in this subject already, here I will stop; the end of this side (which I thought should have remained blank when I began the other) putting me in mind to make an end of this tedious rabble, for the defects whereof, as being written *raptim*, in great haste, I must implore your pardon. And so, with the remembrance of my best wishes for the good success of all good intentions which concerns either you or yours, *je vous baise les mains, en demeurant toujours de même façon,*

*Monseigneur,
vôtre très humble,
et très affectionné serviteur,*

JEAN DE MARIA.

None of the two which were sent up last unto you are as yet come down, whereat we wonder not a little, especially of the Barons stay. I cannot tell whether we, that have the honour to be counted your friends, long more to see you, or hear from you, or those who ought to have the honour to be accounted his Majesty's good subjects do long to know his resolutions anent these premises.

*A votre Maison, ce 16me Avril,
1638.*

J O. D E M A R I A

[A feigned name]

TO

A PERSON UNKNOWN.

MONSIEUR,

I RECEIVED your last of the 21st upon Saturday last, being the last day of the last month, which gave an unexpected period (or rather truce) unto our troublesome treaty. We suppose this *relâche* will not be very durable; and, indeed, most men regard it but as a breathing space by mutual consent of both sides. What past since (and a little before) my Lord Commissioner's * down-coming until that time, if you know not fully, which I cannot believe but you do, ask at *Vox Populi*, who hath imparted his mind more freely to a friend in a corner, nor [than] I thought fitting to do to you, who, if your pleasure and leisure think it worthy the perusal, will impart the same unto you. I know your friends have acquainted you thoroughly how matters go in these parts, and how we are slandered with a counter-covenant; and what real preparation our surly and supercilious adversaries are making to dissipate our imaginary conjunction, especially our domineering Dictator, who hath made a magazine, or rather arsenal, of pikes, halberts,

* The Marquis of Hamilton.

J. DE MARIA TO A PERSON UNKNOWN. 31

muskets, with powder and bullet by the bell † in his own town, and for his own followers, and all the great men of the country, sometime our neighbours, but now his associates and part-fellows, are doing the like; how unable (I mean for lack of the like provision) we are to resist the justly feared fury of these brutish bedlamites, you may judge, and to recover any thing within the country it is impossible, neither without, except where you are for the present; I know your friends have signified so much unto you, with their opinion which way it were best to address the same hither, which I judge they would advise you to send westward to the sea-port next to his Majesty's house whereof you have the charge; ‡ yet I think the shorter and surer cut were eastward to Newcastle, and from thence, over land, to his Majesty's own castle of Carlisle, where people might be served *pour argent comptant*; yet *ambo* is good Latin; which yet is to be rejected as a wild and idle project, unless his Majesty be fully resolved to vindicate his honour (for the present miserably eclipsed) from the contempt and calumnies of all his Christian neighbours, and unchristian subjects. I doubt not but you will get an inkling of his princely

† I am not sure as to this word; it seems liker *belly*, which, however is unintelligible.

‡ This *sea-port* is probably Greenock, and his Majesty's house, Dunbarton-castle; upon that supposition, this letter is addressed to the Duke of Lennox.

intentions, and accordingly acquaint your poor friends what they may expect, or how they shall behave themselves. As for the hunting nags you write of, I am in good hopes to fit myself, though not so well as need were, but except the match hold the charge were very unnecessary; for which cause one and all of us look for a watch-word very shortly. In expectation whereof, with the continuance of my best wishes for the welfare of your person, and those who are nearest unto you, and the happy success of your affairs, *je vous baise les mains, demeurant au reste,*

Monseigneur,

votre très humble,

et très affectionné serviteur,

JO. DE MARIA.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I PUT you in mind of another postscript in my last, how there is a noble and an able young gentleman, whose being should be in the uppermost end of this shire, (his father is he who promised to putrify *votre chere moitié*) whose fidelity and affection towards his Majesty's service is, at this time, so much the more conspicuous, because there is none of note in the country where he lives, who have not bowed their knees to this Covenant of Baal, except himself and his uncle (who, you know, is of my nearest friends) and none nor they in greater danger, both of their persons and estates, if things

fall foul: for the young man, all his friends (except my friend his uncle) have left him sticking in the briers this last term, thereby thinking either to ruin him, or force him to renounce his allegiance; and that which incensed them most against him was, because he shewed himself more than ordinarily stout in all occurrents where such matters came in head, as some of your own special friends can testify, how, without being put to it, he postponed his highest alliance, to side with some that concerns you; moreover, he made all his country people renounce the Covenant, in despite of their ministers and neighbours, who had induced them to it, and that by only assuring them how it was against the King's authority, wherein he opened a way for others to do the like, if they had been alike loyally disposed; his demeanour, therefore, in that kind, deserves to be specially taken notice of; and whereas meaner persons are thanked mediately, one of his quality deserves particular thanks immediately, and that by a particular letter from his Majesty, to encourage him to persevere as he hath begun, and to give assurance that he shall find he hath not made a bad exchange in losing the affection of his friends for his Majesty's service. I could wish you could endear him by the procurement hereof, as also to insert him in your commission, and get him graced with what other public employment one of his parts can be capable of; for you may pass your word both for his fidelity and ability to discharge what he undertakes, as I dare do mine for his real affection and

54 J. DE MARIA TO A PERSON UNKNOWN.

requital of thankful offices towards yourself, and for his uncle likewise; whom once again recommending loyalty to your good remembrance, especially the nephew, I most humbly take my leave

From your House and mine,

the 6th of July, 1638.

I could wish, in case matters came to actual contestation, that you purchased a particular to take our Dictator, and his new planted prophet, by the neck, *brevi manu*, and that upon the narrative which I insert in my last.

MR. DAVID MITCHELL,
 ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH,*
 To
 DR. JOHN LESLY, BISHOP OF RAPHOE. †

MY LORD,

THIS is the first occasion I have found to answer your last kind letters. I can do no more but humbly thank your Lordship for the sincere pro-

* Deposed by the General Assembly 1638. According to Mr. Robert Baillie's MS. Journal, it was proved, that he had long grieved the whole land with the doctrine of Arminianism in all its heads; that he had professed several points of Popery; and had declined the General Assembly, which was, of itself, held a sufficient cause for deprivation. In speaking of Mr. Mitchell, the Moderator, Mr. Alexander Henderson, observed, " That there were two sorts of Arminianism; one, that troubled the churches in the Low Countries, which was nothing else but the way of Socinianism, and *Socinianismus inchoatus est Arminianismus consociatus*. — Another sort of Arminianism maintained by some in England and Scotland, which pointeth to Popery, and is *inchoatus Papsismus*." — Mr. Mitchell was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen in 1662, and died in the following year. *Keith's Catalogue of Scots Bishops*, page 79.

† Dr. John Lesly, Bishop of the Isles in 1628, translated to the see of Raphoe in 1633; he died 1671, aged 100 and

fers of your undeserved kindness. Truly it is like enough I shall be brought to that necessity to leave my charge here, and then there is no man to whom I will be more willing to be beholden. It would make any man's ears to tingle to hear what a pitiful plague this church and kingdom are in.

The greater part of the kingdom have subscribed, and the rest are daily subscribing, a covenant. It is the oath of the King's house 1580, with strange additions, a mutual combination for resistance of all novations in religion, doctrine, and discipline, and rites of worship that have been brought in since that time; so as if the least of the subscribers be touched, and there be some of them not ten years of age, and some not worth two pence, that all shall concur for their defence, and for the expulsion of all Papists and adversaries (that is all that will not subscribe) out of the church and kingdom, according to the laws, whereof an hundred are cited in the Charta. This goes on apace. The true pastors are brought into Edinburgh, to cry out against us wolves; and they, with our brethren here, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Mr. Henry Rollock, and your whilome friend the Principal,† (crying out that they are neither good

upwards. " His second son was the *renowned* Charles " Lessly, who has made his name famous by the many curious books with which he has gratified the public after " the 1688." *Keith's Catalogue of Scots Bishops*. p. 177.

† Mr. John Adamson, Principal of the College of Edinburgh.

Christians nor good subjects that do not subscribe; nay, nor in covenant with God) have made us so odious, that we dare not go on the streets. I have been dogged by some gentlemen, and followed with many mumbled threatnings behind my back, and then when in stairs, swords drawn, and "if they" had the Papist villain, oh!"

Yet I thank God, I am living to serve God, and the King, and the church, and your Lordship. Your Chief * is chief in this business. There is nothing expected here but civil war. There is no meeting of council; the Chancellor may not with safety attend it, nor any Bishop; the very name is more odious among old and young than the devil's. Galloway takes shelter under the Treasurer's wings; he draws him out to known danger, and then makes a shew of protection. Ross keeps at home still, and keeps up the service in his cathedral, but I fear he shall not be able long. What was told your Lordship of his disclaiming the Book was most false; Dun and he never spoke together. Concerning the other point of your postscript, that the Book is a transcript of King Edward's Book, that is not true neither. I know my Lord of Ross sent a copy of ours to your Lordship, and the other you may have and compare them. They

* *Your Chief*, Lesly, Earl of Rothes. *Chancellor*, Spotswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews. *Galloway*, Sydeserf, Bishop of Galloway. *Treasurer*, Earl of Traquair. *Ross*, Maxwell, Bishop of Ross. *Dun*, q. if Erskine of Dun.

38 MR. MITCHELL TO DR. LESLY.

are somewhat like in the communion, and great need there was to return to it *propter Sacramentaria*; but now, when all shall be discharged, Service-book, Canons, and High Commission, they will not rest there, there is some other design in their hearts.

There are still here 500 commissioners of the states; they relieve one another by course, as Castor and Pollux went to hell; they sit daily and make new laws; their protestations and decrees begin thus, "We Noblemen, Barons and Gentle-
"men, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons;" they depose Moderators of Presbyteries, and chuse new. Mr. Matthew Wemyss * subscribed on Friday, preached for the Covenant on Sunday, and discharged the organ. I have neither more time nor paper. God send this church peace, preserve yours, and send you better news next. So wisheth

Your Lordship's

humble servant,

D. A. MITCHELL.

Edinburgh, 19th March,

1638.

* Minister of the Canongate, Edinburgh. Lord Rothes thus writes to Wariston, "Let me know if the whole Canongate have subscribed, with their Minister Mr. Matthew Wemyss." 18th March, 1638. *Advocates Library.*

LETTER FROM A PERSON IN ENGLAND

TO

TWO CONFIDENTS IN SCOTLAND.*

11th July, 1638.

MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I now send by a certain hand, therefore in a more familiar way. I have written to you several times, and sent my letters to Mr. Tho. Livingstone, who, I know, put them in the most probable way of safe conveyance; yet I fear they have not come safely to your hands, the rather because I received no word of answer from out of your kingdom since my coming hither, but chiefly because I hear the posts are waylaid, and all letters taken from them, and brought to Secretary Cooke, those letters that both go downward, and those also which come upward; therefore I shall not, neither do you, send by that way hereafter; and pray tell this much to Mr. Borthwick.

The King communicated not a word of the

* The Editor can form no conjecture by whom this very curious letter was written, nor determine with any certainty to whom it was addressed. The manner of spelling in the original is plainly Scottish, and yet there are several expressions which seem to point at its being written by an Englishman, an inhabitant of Ireland. It is possible, that, for greater security, the pen of a Scotsman may have been employed.

Scots business untill the first day of this month to any of the Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury excepted, with whom he hath advised hitherunto; and when the King imparted it to the Council, it was but very superficially, referring them to the Marquis † his return hither, which hath been confidently expected these six or seven days past. You know the reasons of his stay, but we fear here some of their nobility do faint in their resolution, and are not firmly united, which the Marquis makes use of to work a division, if possibly may be. It is said the Earl of Cassillis, Lord Loudoun, Lord Lindsay, and several others, have avowed the King's offers by the Marquis to be so fair, that they were to be condemned, should they refuse to entertain them; and that these Lords have made a separation from the rest, and gotten a grand party with themselves, it is reported by some of credit, for what end (if not true) I imagine not. You must be wary of trusting a Lord amongst you, called the Lord Rae, he who accused the Marquis of treason long since. I hear it secretly that although he have subscribed and sworn the Covenant, yet he hath declared, by letters to the King, he doth it only to be the better enabled to do the King service, by such knowledge of resolutions as (being one of their selves) he may be more fully instructed in; he will be a Judas as far as he can. There be preparations for 20,000 men, of swords, guns, &c. 40 pieces of ordnance, and 40 carria-

† Marquis of Hamilton.

ges. The Earl Marshal of England is to go in to the north, there to secure those parts, where Berwick, Carlisle, and Newcastle are to be fortified; but it is thought they will not get 200 men for their 20,000 arms in this cause. You will not believe how heartily the cause is nigh to succeed amongst the nobility, gentry, and commonalty. The nobility have some of them laboured to get a society who might petition the King for removal of such grievances as they labour under, but there cannot be gotten above two of the nobility that will join in this business; you may guess who they are; so as they conceive it but folly of themselves to *push*, whereas the rest have declared they will not join in it; but, however, they are resolved not to abide here, being indeed under such a light as must suffer extinguishment if it abide in this so dampish an air. I hear it the unanimous consent of many leading persons, that they hope to find an America in Scotland; and all designs foreign receive a stoppage until it be seen wherein yours will determine. If a liberty can be had with you, there will be hardly found receipt for those who will thrust themselves amongst you, such who are men of eminent rank, and great estates, and those who, I dare say, will spend, a few of them, in the discharge of their ordinary affairs, more money yearly nor is now to be spared in the kingdom; I could number forty or fifty of them that will allot 100,000l. yearly for their expence; many there be of the like sort I know not of, but such as I have spoken with have often wished, that you be sure in the

close of your agreement, that you make petition, that there may be free traffic preserved betwixt yourselves and the other subjects of the King's dominions; you to come, drive trade, cohabit with them, and they to do the like with you, without any hinderance, as subjects of the same government, and members of the same body ought to do. You, by this manner, will get their estates and persons amongst you, and they will take none of your gospel away although they communicate with you. Pray consider of this, it is of much concernment both to yourselves and others here, who cannot expect, from any appearance of the least motion thitherward, that there is hope of so much as any relaxation of the course begun, and unhappily brought forward in these parts. That you may taste a little of our condition, I have sent you two of your own Scots Bibles, your New Testament only, wherein they have placed such abominable pictures, that horrible impiety stares through them; these come forth by public authority; do you show them to such as you think meet; I send to each of you one of them. Our Deputy hath made large overtures to the King, some say of 16,000 men, from Ireland; but I know not how he will be able to make that good, for that kingdom is not on such quiet terms; however he hath gotten his present condition of a favourable dispatch by the tender of his service. He was in some danger before concerning the Chancellor. There be a proportion of arms sent into Ireland. The Earl of Antrim was recommended by the Marquis to the King, as

a man that might contribute largely to his Prince in this business; he is presented to the King as having great power in Ireland, and the leading of a strong and numerous sept of the M^cDonells, which now serve under the Lord of Lorn. I am certified he takes with the employment, and, as a vizor to cover his intent this way, he very shortly carries his Dutcheſs * into Ireland with him, and ——— resolves to ———. Now I ſuppoſe his main deſign is to make what party he can there, and in the Highlands of Argyle. Wiſe men here do think that the King is reſolved to hold you in all fair and promiſing ways of treaty, until he hath ſufficiently fitted himſelf, by provisions both of arms and men, and then you may look for no other language but what comes from the mouth of the cannon; he aſſured, if the King can bring it to this paſs, he will, but moſt likely he will not be able; yet how far rewards, penſions, and the like, may prevail, either to ſeparate you amongſt yourſelves, or otherways to hire a foreigner to come upon you (if his domeſtic ſubjects will not be drawn to it) it is hard to ſay; good wiſdom, therefore, to be at a point quickly, whiſt God preſerves union amongſt you.

Here are either 10 or 12 flat-bottomed boats to land men withal, that be made ready; a number of ſhot for ordnance newly caſt. But theſe

* He married the widow of the great Duke of Buckingham.

things are so publicly ordered, that it is thought they intend not to make use of them farther than to threaten you, as knowing their own weakness; but could they do more, I verily judge their wits are sufficiently towards it.

Divers well-wishers of yours here are in much anxiety of thoughts how you will carry the business so as not to bring a sort of blemish upon the cause, such as your good friends the Bishops have openly suggested already; which is, that you take occasion only, by this quarrel of conscience, to cast off the yoke of government, and change the settled sovereignty established; I say, your friends are nonplused how you will either avoid a seen mischief by forcing the King fortifying those frontier towns; if you do nothing to prevent that act, you see an engine preparing for your own mischief, and stand still, and if you make any opposition (admit it be intentionally but for your own defence) that you secure those towns, yet that will be deemed an act of hostility, and little less than rebellion; for their first thoughts will they seem to confirm, and alledge the next of theirs as a proof of it. God direct you, that the holy cause and profession do not suffer under any carriage of yours, which hath been hitherto, to the amazement of enemies, carried in a way without all sort of exception of the veriest critic, and I hope shall so determine. That it may be so, I know some, I may say many, I think multitudes, are earnest with the Lord for your furniture with wisdom, Christian resolution, and unity; then, by all appear-

CONFIDENTS IN SCOTLAND. 45

ance, you need not fear what man can do unto you. As more shall be discovered, and way made for the passage of it to you, I will not omit to certify you; desiring also to hear from you; but direct your letters to Mr. Livingston, and within let your letter to me have no superscription, only this mark (Π) and he will understand what to do with it. I pray send me six of your printed letters, which are cried about the streets, with as many of the Covenant, and what other thing is lately come forth.

A PERSON UNKNOWN

TO

W A R I S T O N.

DEAR CHRISTIAN BROTHER, AND
COURAGEOUS PROTESTANT,

UPON some rumour of the Prelate of St. Andrews his coming over the water, finding it altogether inconvenient, that he, or any of that kind, should shew themselves peaceably in public, some course was taken how he might be entertained in such places as he should come unto. We are now informed that he will not come, but that Brechin is in Edinburgh, or thereabout. It is the advice of your friends there, that, in a private way, some course may be taken for his terror and disgrace, if he offer to shew himself publicly; think upon the best way, by the advice of your friends there. I fear that their public appearance at Glasgow shall be prejudicial to our cause. We are going on to take order with his chief supporters here, Glaidstaines, Scrymgeour, and Haliburton. So, wishing you both protection and direction from your Master; I continue your own,

whom you know,

26th October, 1638.*

G.

* Just about this time the Bishops had been cited to appear before the General Assembly at Glasgow. *Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.* p. 88.

CERTAIN REMARKABLE PASSAGES
IN THE LETTERS FROM
MR. WILLIAM WILLIE*
TO
DR. BALCANQUHAL.

11th Dec. [1638.]

I AM certainly informed, by one that knows it well, that there is one Barnes, a merchant of Edinburgh, that has bought some 6000 muskets of late out of Holland, which ship was stopped by the States, till afterwards, that the King of France his Legate did obtain that it might be sent to a town in France, for his master's service, and so, by this means, is come home here. It is strange if his Majesty of France, or any Prince, should farther the arming of subjects against their Prince.——

26th Dec. [1638.] —— I find, by those that know the grounds of the Nobility's proceedings, that the prime reason of the removal of Bishops is the power they had in Parliament; eight of them being Lords of the Articles, who had the power to chuse other eight of the Nobility whom they knew most addicted to his Majesty, and these six-

* This Willie appears to have been a sort of ecclesiastical spy, employed by Balcanquhal, the great confidant of Charles I. in every thing relating to Scotland.

48 MR. WILLIE TO DR. BALCANQUHAL.

teen the rest ; so that all depended upon them, and they upon his Majesty.*—

Ibid.—The next Lord's day is appointed in the most part of churches here to be a day of thanksgiving for the Assembly ; a terrible day of trial for many ministers, who are directed to profess joy, when there is nothing within but fear and sorrow. To all the preachers I would assign, for that day, this text, Psalm ii. " Rejoice with trembling ;" for have of the first what they will, I am sure they, and the most part of the country that have any understanding, want not the latter.

* This is very rational and intelligible, and yet it seems to have escaped the observation of some eminent historians,

WARISTON
TO
LORD JOHNSTON.*

MY NOBLE LORD;

—THUS for the first part of your Lordship's letter; and for the last, truly I am glad to have thereby occasion to write my mind freely to your Lordship, which, I trust, you will take in good part; as from him that wishes your Lordship's person, and house, and name well, without any further protestation; and truly, I think I were both unfaithful to this great business, and to your Lordship, if I did not both advertise you, both of what I have heard, and also show my own judgment anent that voyage your Lordship writes of; it was told me of, before your Lordship went out of the town, and I was designed to have demanded it; but when your Lordship told me of your voyage home, it prevented both my suspicion and question of the other. Your Lordship remembers I told your Lordship of my Lord Treasurer's brags, as well of your Lordship as of my

* The first part of this letter relates to private business. This is printed from a copy, endorsed thus in Wariston's hand, "Copy of my letter to my Lord Johnston, 2d January, 1639, before his court voyage, for constancy in the cause."

Lord Home, when I saw you after Duns-law : thereafter, in your own chamber, your Lordship cleared yourself to me ; but ever since, our frequent intelligence of my Lord Home's engagement to the King, which now he has confirmed by this his late voyage, your Lordship's great correspondence with my Lord Home breeding a probability of your running together one way, in that, as in many other things ; your great driness to the rest of the nobility here ; your rarity of meeting here with them, but especially at their two last, being in Edinburgh ; your instant shunning either to meet or meal with them, after frequent daily invitations from one nobleman or other : these, and such like probabilities, have added some greater grounds of appearance of verisimilitude in my Lord Treasurer's brags. Whereas, when we learn from our friends in England, both in general, that the King's refusal of our reasonable demands proceeds from his confidence of division among ourselves at home, and particularly, from the assurance of the south as well as of the north borders, whereby he thinks to draw the middle in a hose-net ; which, we presume, the King could not even imagine, without he were put in some hope of that or some others, whether with warrant or not ; and also, that we knew therefrom the main thing kept the Treasurer even now on his foot, and in the King's favour, was his assuring the King he had wrought great divisions, and was able to work greater for effectuating his designs. Now, my noble Lord, albeit I believe not the conclusion will necessari-

ly flow from these conjectural premises bred in peoples minds, albeit never heard in the mouths, nor harboured in the breasts, nor hatched in the brains, of any of your own quality here, for ought I know; yet I should be most sorry your Lordship, by this your voyage at this time, *after next L.** you should add any further presumption and likelihood thereto, as if there were a tryst [appointment] kept, to be at Yule now, betwixt the noblemen of both south and north borders, against the heart of the kingdom, especially seeing none perceives any great interest, of any particular importance, concerning your Lordship's affairs, which may not delay till the religion and liberty of the whole were settled; and seeing all know, that, at this time, none will get good deed [benefit] of the King, till he first promises surely, absolutely, and totally to be his in this quarrel; truly, neither is it God's honour, nor, on the other part, King Charles' honour, to have one to serve him *à demi*, as the Frenchman says, or by halves and parts; and seeing we know my Lord Dunfermling and Loudon [would] have been put to their particular oaths, if they had not been public commissioners; if you, being put to it, refuse, you offend far more than if you had not gone up, and then you are in a needless hazard. If you take this oath, then you renounce the Covenant with God, you draw down his vengeance visibly upon you, your house and your name, good fame, yourself, and your poste-

* This is unintelligible.

city, with that stigmatizing blot and blunder of a traitor to your religion, the kirk, the liberty and freedom of this kingdom; you will be infamous in all stories, and contemned both at home and abroad, whereof I am very confident you abhorre the very thought worse nor death. Mistake not my forwarning you of these consequences, as if I believed your Lordship would fall in them; for I protest, I am not capable, as yet, of such an imagination; but you know my licence and liberty to be free, in this business, with all I love and respect; and therefore I would seriously, from the earnest desire of my heart to your welfare and good name, advise your Lordship not to make this voyage, in this way, after such driness with the Lords, and such suspicions amongst the people. But if really your Lordship's particular inforceth you, then rather do nobly, as my noble Lord of Montrose * has done; who, having received a letter from the King himself to go up with diligence to his court, convened some of the nobility, shewed unto them both his particular affairs, and the King's command, and that according to his covenant of following the common resolution, and eschewing all appearances of divisive motion, nobly has resolved to follow their counsel, and has gone home to his own house, and will not go to court at all. So, my Lord, I wish your Lordship, upon the public

* This encomium on the zeal and constancy of the Marquis of Montrose is most remarkable.

letter which is sent to you, to be here at the public meeting upon Mr. William Cuninghams answer, the 11th of this month, would come here, and follow the advice of your noble friends, who sincerely will tell you, both what is fittest for Gods work, and your Lordship's welfare. This is my advice; but if your Lordship will go away, truly I shall be sorry for it; but I will both expect from your Lordship an answer hereunto more clear and special, whereby I may be the more assured myself of your Lordship's good intentions, and may be more enabled to satisfy the doubts, and answer the objections made by others against your voyage, likeas an true hearted Johnston, and a true friend and servant to your Lordship and to the house of Johnston, and, above all, as a faithful advocate for Gods kirk, and agent for this great work of God in this land. I do faithfully counsel you, and really forwarn you, as in the presence of the great God, before whom your Lordship and I will both answer, that, as you love your own soul, your name, your state, your country and religion, you neither by word, oath, or writ, undertake either to assist the King in this his course against your fellow-covenanters, whom, by your solemn oath, you are obliged to maintain; or else to ly by, and not to assist them, in the defence of their religion and liberty, against foreign and intestine invasion, which you are bound before God to do, and entered in; and [if] you do either by commission or omission (which are alike before God and in the Covenant) thus prejudice yourself, remember a

true and faithful, albeit a plain and out-spoken friend forwarned and fortold your Lordship, that Christ will be seen to crush and trample under his foot more visibly those that thus betray him, nor [than] these that ay have opposed him, especially seeing that their desertion gives courage, life, being, and rejuvation; and that you will find it so, in your own sensible experience, here and hereafter, when even this forwarning of you shall stand up in judgment betwixt you and me, as the discharge of my duty of a trusty friend, and as the aggravation of your conviction. My Lord, again let me say, be not offended with this my freedom on the one part, seeing I am really engaged by oft answering for you, as I will yet continue, till you break under, and so break my credit with them; so, on the other, let them not deceive you either with pretence of reason; for I, who am the weakest of the thousands of Israel, offers me, upon my head, to justify, in writ or print, all our proceedings in Assembly and Parliament, from the principles of our late, our old acts of Parliament, from the records of Parliament, from all processes of parliament, in all our historians, from the books of Council, Assembly, and Session, which are all the best warrants of our actions in this kingdom, if either in writ or print they will set down their objections. Your Lordship knows I am no bragga-docchio. Be confident of the truth of this, which I would not promise but out of knowledge; and so suffer them not to deceive you with any particular reason, which your Lordship, perhaps, can-

not answer, because not so well versed in the grounds of our proceedings; neither be commoved with other threats, for, as the Lord lives, he will through-out this work against all opponents. And albeit all the Lords of Fife, Lothian, and the West would concur in defection with these in the North and the South, I make not question but the great God, the patron of this work, will trample them down, and erect over their bellies the trophies of his victory. God has said it, and he will perform it. Antichrist shall fall, and Christ rise; none shall hold the one up or the other down. It shall be seen, even it shall be seen in this world, that the Lord will fight for his people, and rather work miracles before he desert them, and suffer his work to be destroyed. Neither let us be deceived with vain brags of English faces; we saw what they were before; they will not really ever be so great again; and albeit they were, took not God both heart and hand from them? Neither be deluded with their suggestions, that this nobleman will fall away, and that man will turn unto the King; that has been ay their policy, to draw the party himself away. In the mean time, let every one of us be sure of himself, and warn and encourage one another, and God, who knit our hearts and our hands together, will be found to keep the knot he fastened with his own hand. Neither be deceived with great hopes there, *non habent*, neither is this a time for giving. They may well love the treason, they will never love the traitor, but even in their own hearts they will abhor, unre-

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spect, contemn, and condemn them ; as, on the other part, I am persuaded God will be seen ever even in this to perform his promise, *honorantes me honorabo*, and will build their houses, who hazard themselves and their house for the building of his house. Thus, my noble Lord, I fear I have wearied you ; but, I dare say truly, this my freedom is the realest and greatest testimony of my affection and respect to you that I could have shown, which I trust God will bless, and you will so accept it. And after serious consideration hereof, seek God's direction, and follow it ; and write to me fully your mind, which I will expect, and shall ever be

Your Lordship's

humble servant,

and true, real, plain friend.

Edinburgh, 2d January,
1639.

MR. WILLIAM COLVILL *

TO

LORD BALMERINO.

MONDAY at night I received two letters, and, at the same time, *the secret articles*, from my Lord of Rothes; his Lordship desired me to *peruse* them, and consider of them, which I did this morning, and to *treat thereof* with your Lordship. I was exceeding loth to censure the *strain and stile thereof*; it may be your gifts are far beyond mine *own small* and rusted experience; yet, fearing mis-constructions, I must tell your Lordship, and I hope my Lord of Lothian will say all I say, that the King of France's letter is not relevant, [proper] the stile constrained and not Laconic.

— there be some faults both in the order and French. And attour, [besides] when your *committee* gives me no place for articles expressing, a footman may do the like. The French themselves do

* This letter is miserably torn and mutilated; but the curiousness of the subject moved the editor to complete it by *conjecture* as far as he could. See *Bishop Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, P. 160, 161. and *Lord Clarendon*, B. ii. P. 129, 130. It is probable that the draught made by Colvill is that which follows in this collection.

ever trust a gentleman with a letter of credence or trust, which I have drawn up; if my Lord Lothian or your Lordship like of it, let it *be copied with a good fair hand*. Your Lordship shall be confident that I shall neither add nor pair the articles your Lordship shall impart to me. For that other letter for the States of Holland, I find it passable, yet not altogether so sweet * as I could have wished; I have therefore altered it a little, because there were in it both faults in the French and strain of it. So, remitting them *both* to my Lord of Lothian and Mr. Robert Leighton's † *better* judgments and better experience, I most *humbly advertise* your Lordship touching the articles, ye would *consider* fully on them, for they need not be subscribed *by any*. The two letters, with as many hands as can be *procured* to them, need subscription. So, if I must go, let me go with diligence. I desire earnestly to actuate on this stage, and on another, if business fall not out aright. What time your Lordship will appoint me to come for the dispatch, I shall be ready, as ever, to honour and respect your Lordship's commandments. I can frame the articles in French in a moment; your Lordship shall only be pleased to add or pare what your Lord-

* This word not certain; it may be *short*.

† In all probability the person here meant is the celebrated Robert Leighton, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, Bishop Burnet mentions his skill in the French language.

TO LORD BALMERINO. 59

ship thinks fit. It is not my part to prescribe, but to receive *orders willingly* and with fidelity; and shall ever *study* to approve myself,

My good Lord,

Your Lordship's most *dutiful*,

and most obedient servant,

WILLIAM COLVILL.

Cromy, this 30th of April,
1639.

GENERAL ALEXANDER LESLIE

AND

THE EARL OF ROTHES

TO

THE FRENCH KING.

SIRE,

NON seulement la douceur de la paix nous porte à rechercher tous moyens de la conserver, mais encore plus notre affection loyale envers le Roi notre souverain nous rend soigneux d'esprouver tout ce qui pourra sembler propre à détourner sa Majesté d'un si funeste dessein que de faire la guerre au pais de sa naissance, et à ses propres sujets tant fideles et obeissants. C'est ce qui nous a persuadé, Sire, d'envoyer ce gentilhomme vers votre Majesté pour lui représenter l'état de nos affaires, et la supplier très humblement d'employer (s'il lui plait) son intercession favorable envers notre Souverain, pour nous continuer la paix, que les ennemis de son état et les notres l'excitent à tourner en guerre, laquelle nous menace à cette heure de bien pres, et nous oblige à notre defence autant juste que necessaire, veu que nous ne cherchons qu'à jouir paisiblement de notre religion et libertes, selon les loix, tant civiles qu'ecclesiastiques, de ce royaume, et ne cessons de supplier le Roi notre souveraigne, en toute humilité, pour cet effet. La consideration de l'ancienne alliance, qui par tant de

fiècles a duré inviolable entre la France et l'Ecosse, nous a donné l'hardiesse à desirer, Sire, l'assistance de votre intercession, et nous esperons qu'elle pourra rapporter un succes conforme à son merite, et à la clemence de notre Souverain; toutéfois, Sire; l'honneur d'une action si genereuse vous en demeurera, et à nous l'obligation d'être à toujours

De votre Majesté

les très humbles;

et très affectionnés serviteurs,

A. LESLIE. ROTHES.*

* It is obvious that the purpose was to have this letter signed by all the leaders of the Covenanters, and that *this* copy was not sent. A letter of the like tenor, with the necessary alterations, was prepared for the States General. *Advocates Library*. A. 6. 10. N°. 84. The subscription of General Leslie is so awkward and mishapen, that it confirms the tradition of his being absolutely illiterate. It is reported, that, once upon a march, passing by a house, he said, *There is the house where I was taught to read*. How, General, said one of his attendants, *I thought that you had never been taught to read*. Pardon me, replied he, *I got the length of the letter G*.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COVENANTERS IN SCOTLAND

TO

THEIR MESSENGER TO THE FRENCH KING.

TO represent the antient and strait league between the two kingdoms of France and Scotland, often renewed, and ever inviolably kept for many hundred years, whereby both nations, upon the distress of the one, found the benefit of that mutual amity, by ready succour and assistance of the other, which hath ever been crowned with success, and acknowledged by interchange of national kindness, as the chronicles of both kingdoms, and divers public acts, extant in the records, can testify.

To show that our intentions are no ways against monarchical government, but that we are most loyally disposed towards our sacred Sovereign, whose person and authority we will maintain with our lives and fortunes; but that all our desires reaches no further than the preservation of our religion and liberty of church and kingdom, established by the laws and constitutions thereof. That the calumnies vented against us, by our enemies, for their own ends, make no impression, because they are most manifest untruths, maliciously forged to stir the envy and discontentment of neighbour princes, estates, and nations, against us; whereas

our whole thoughts, words, actions, and proceedings are most legal and loyal, as the bearer can particularly instruct and make clear at length; That seeing we have many times supplicated his Majesty, and have not prevailed, therefore to intreat the King of France to intercede and mediate with our Sovereign to lay down his arms intended and raised against us, and to suffer this his antient and native kingdom to enjoy her religion and liberties, in peace and freedom, under his Majesty's authority, albeit we be not diffident of God's assistance; whenever we shall be necessitated to our own defence, which is approved both by the law of God; nature; and nations.

To remember to shew the true state of our business, and answer all objections yet laid to our charge out of the papers which are sent with you. The true state of the question betwixt the King and this kirk and kingdom being, whether this shall continue a free kirk and kingdom, to be ruled by the laws of both; or now, in this absence of our Sovereign from us, whether we shall, in effect, contrary to both, be enslaved to the passions of a foreign Prelate, the Bishop of Canterbury, and his supporters, whom he sends here to govern by their will and pleasure; and whether this antient kingdom shall be like a conquered province, as Ireland, under subjection of England, to receive what laws, civil or ecclesiastical, in religion or policy, they please to prescribe; and whether upon our refusal of this slavery, a foreign army threatens and invades us, whether the whole body of a kirk and

kingdom shall lay down their necks to the sword, or their consciences to the yoke, or cast up a buckler of defence.

2. To remember the King of France, and those who have greatest credit of important affairs, of the old and faithful alliance entertained betwixt those two nations of France and Scotland; as also of the good service which of old our countrymen, in their straits from the English, afforded to France, both by diverting their enemies at home, and by sending succours abroad; as also, of the great trust the King of France has put in those of our nation, even to the trusting the guard of his own person to their fidelity and courage; as also, of the maxims of policy to assist the weaker, to keep the balance the more even.

3. To desire of them that they would, by his ambassador and letter (that before matters draw to a real rencounter) to interpose his mediation with our Sovereign for the leaving us to be ruled by our own laws of church and state, in peace and quietness; and when matters draw to blood, then really to succour and assist us, either by supply of money and arms at home, or by diverting our invaders abroad.

To offer the continuance of the antient league and faithful friendship of the body of this kingdom to the crown of France, in all civil quarrels against foreign princes.

If the wars of the Protestants in France be objected, to shew the difference betwixt them and us;
1. We being the whole body of the kingdom, and

they but a few. 2. Our religion and liberties being established by the laws of kirk and kingdom. 3. Our King, in his coronation, and whole estates sworn to the maintenance thereof. 4. Our defence thereof, against our King, allowed by the laws of kirk and kingdom, and practised by our predecessors in the same cause. 5. Our King's assisting the Catholics may be a motive (which argument I do not allow) to France, in requital, to grant us the like.

To assure them, according to our remonstrances, both of our loyalty to our King, and that of our constancy of our defence; especially seeing now we are masters of our intestine affairs, and of the strengths of the kingdom, which we were necessitated, in such extremity, to seize upon, as our remonstrance sheweth.

FROM A PERSON UNKNOWN.*

WORTHY SIR,

ALTHOUGH you know me to be no intelligencer, yet I have a mind to write such occurrences as I did meet with at Dunse; but, hearing of a begun treaty of pacification, I suspended my hand, till the conclusion should furnish me somewhat worthy your hearing. His Majesty was pleased to receive our humble desires, whereof I have sent the copy, and after much agitation with our commissioners, in end, for answering our desires, did resolve upon this declaration, which I have also sent. You may perhaps marvel, as many others have done, that our commissioners should have accepted of a declaration which called the last Assembly a *pretended Assembly*, since we all, who were privy to the proceedings thereof, were as many witnesses of the presence of God there, in a measure more than ordinary; from the sense whereof, many did seal the same with their hearts then, and since have signed it with their hands. But I have learned of our commissioners, that although his Majesty did call it so, for his own ends, yet did he not oblige them to think so of it, neither would he bid them

* Written about the end of June, 1639. It is probable that one Borthwick, minister at Leuchars, and a very active person among the Covenanters, is the writer of this letter; he is mentioned in this Collection, p. 39. note *.

disapprove it; this they have expressed in write under the name of an *Information against mistakes*, which I am sorry should be so many, both against his Majesty's justice and goodness, and against the faithfulness of our commissioners. For clearing of both to your mind, I have sent you the information, with some pieces of the conference (as I have instantly learned) which did pass betwixt his Majesty and the commissioners, before the nobles and counsellors of England, who rest wholly satisfied with us, partly by the speeches of our commissioners, and partly by the undeniable reality of our intentions and actions, which hath made them so to affect us and our cause, that we knew not whether to love them more, or to abhor our own disnated countrymen, who, all this time past, have been incendiaries against us. This short relation, with the pieces above-mentioned, may be unto you instead of a full history of what is past.

You may possibly, by reason of your greater distance, expect from me some advice for what is afterward; in place whereof, I will tell you what I have learned to be the resolution of the Covenanters concerning this ensuing assembly. You may believe what I write, from my acquaintance with the wisest and gravest among them, who conceive me to be a liker both of truth and peace. I perceive that they are far better pleased with his Majesty's speeches to our commissioners, than with the published declaration, and that our commissioners have much ado to persuade the people and

foldiers to take the declaration in good part, which certainly had been met with a formal protestation, if some lovers of peace had not prevented it, by undertaking to speak some words, after the publishing of the declaration, bearing humble and hearty thanksgiving to his Majesty, and hopes that his Majesty, by time, should be moved to think better of the late assembly; likeas their resolution to adhere unto that assembly, and to the said information, to the utmost. It appears to me, and many wiser than I am, that the heat of the people is not cooled by all their pains and charges for so long a time; and at this hour they are more animated against the Service-Book, and against the Prelates and their adherents, than at the first hour and time since. If the King's Majesty will land Bishops here, he must either root out all this generation of people, which will be found a hard task, since now they be resolved, and so armed, and are assured that the English will not trouble them for the point of religion, or kirk-government by Bishops, and which they themselves rather bear as a burden on their backs, than entertain as a benefit; or else his Majesty must leave this work to his son for the following generation. I may say the same of ministers who are under the censures of the kirk, and have fled out of the country, they can have no hope of regrefs to their places. If there be others of the same spirit at home, their ambition may be now at an end; or if there be no end of it, but they must needs be Bishops, they may resolve to hunt their prey in another land, and to breathe in

another element than ours. 2. I perceive that his Majesty hath his testimony, that he heareth reason patiently, and is ready to yield unto it, but that there be some about his chair, who continually labour to foment some bad principles of policy and church-goverment which they have planted in his mind ; were those removed from the King, and men put in their place who seek not themselves (which were to us an universal happiness) his Majesty might be heartily loved, and highly honoured by his people, and they might promise to themselves good days under his Majesty's government ; neither is any good man to despair. If his Majesty shall honour the approaching Assembly with his personal presence, all matters may go right, and be judged in equity, according to the constitutions of this kirk. It is observed here, that fugitive ministers give out, that this truce of pacification tends to their advantage, and that we have parted thereby from our Assembly and Covenant. This is a new forgery and craft of theirs, to essay, if, by this mean, they can work division amongst us, and open a walk for themselves to enter by ; but they do but lose their labour, and their craft is better known unto the better sort than that they can be deceived by them. Although the last Wednesday of July was appointed by the kirk to be the time of the holding of the Assembly, yet, since his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to indict the Assembly against the 6th of August, it is thought convenient that the meeting be suspended till the day designed by his Majesty ; concerning which,

least any thing be done prejudicial to the liberty of the kirk, I hear that the presbytery of Edinburgh is to advertise, according to the trust committed to them by the last assembly, and the custom of the kirk in former times.

Tho' we hear of many plots, policies, and promises, that are to be used by our adversaries for chusing of commissioners, or for corrupting of such as shall be chosen; likeas a great manifesto book is published in print against all our proceedings, and especially against the last assembly, and many copies thereof spread through the country, to the great grief of his Majesty's subjects, not so much as for any evil it can do, for it is known to be full of lies, not by two or three, but by more than two or three hundred witnesses, who were members or attendants of the Assembly, but because the author thereof hath made the King the author of so many untruths; yet we perceive that the Covenanters (a name which they are not ashamed of, although their adversaries have put it upon them*) resolve to forbear all writing for chusing of commissioners, wishing only that the wisest, gravest, and honest men be chosen, especially such as are best acquainted with the proceedings of the last Assembly, and are best affected to the reformation of religion, and true peace of the kirk. If any man come otherways disposed, as he sinneth against

* This is a curious circumstance; the name of *Covenanter* was not assumed, but imposed.

his own soul, so is he like to lose the respect both with the kirk, by whom he will be seen soon, and with the King himself, who, as I hear of such as have been nearest unto his Majesty, will hinder no modest man to speak his mind freely, and is judicious to discern betwixt flatterers and honest men.

I hear all good men say, that if the ministry at this time prove faithful, and shall not suffer themselves to be bribed, terrified, or deluded, this will prove the most comfortable Assembly that the kirk of Scotland hath seen; and therefore that it is necessary, that every man, who shall have voice there, labour, by all means, to put his own heart in order, and guard himself against temptations; and that all men, by humiliation and prayer more than ever before, draw near unto God. What sin and shame will it be to the ministry to be the extinguishers of that light now, which hath endured so many blasts, and for the shining whereof the whole country almost hath run the hazard of what is dearest to them in this world. My desire to give you satisfaction hath made me, beyond my own curiosity, to inform myself in particulars, and hath drawn me to this length, beyond my intention. You may make no less use of what you have heard of me, than if you had been the informer yourself, for I neither delight to write *uncertainties*, nor to omit duty, that may testify me to be, in truth,

Your affectionate friend

and servant.



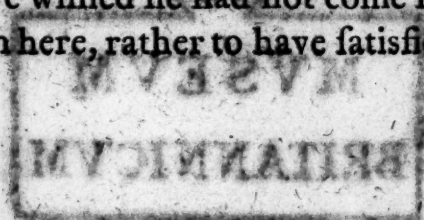
MR. ROBERT BURNET OF CRIMONT

TO

W A R I S T O N.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND
LOVING BROTHER,

I RECEIVED yours of the 29th of May. I thank you for your news; but, the Lord knows, I am sorry to hear and read of the desolation of that poor land; and I am certainly persuaded some among you will render an heavy account for the same some day, who will rather have all the three kingdoms destroyed, and every one weltering in another's blood, before you get not your will. God forgive your bloody and cruel preachers, who have not known, nor will not know, the way of peace. You write to me of two men's being here, Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Sydeserf, with whom I converse; you are wrong informed, for one of them, the Bishop of Ross, he came never here; he is, as I am informed, at St. Denis in Wales, the rents whereof the King has given him for a time; for Mr. Sydeserf, sometime Bishop of Galloway, (and who thinks he has right to it yet, if violence have not place) he came here five or six weeks ago, and by [without] my knowledge, by the address of other Scotsmen, he took his chamber in the house where I am, and has been since my being here. I could have wished he had not come here, as long as I had been here, rather to have satisfied other men's



scruples, whom I have no intention to offend, than my own; for the Lord is my witness, to whom I must answer at the last day, I think there was never a more unjust sentence of excommunication than that which was pronounced against some of these Bishops, and particularly against this man, since the creation of the world; and I am persuaded, that these who did excommunicate him did rather excommunicate themselves from God, than him; for I have known him these twenty-nine years, and I have never known any wickedness or unconscientious dealing in him; and I know him to be an learned and more conscientious man (although I will not purge him of infirmities more than others) than any of those who were upon his excommunication. And, alas, Brother! what would you be at, that now when you have beggared him, and chased him by club-law out of the country, would you have him reduced to despair, and will you exact that every man, yea against his conscience, shall approve your deeds, how unjust soever, yea out of the country? If I had been excommunicated by you for not subscribing your last Covenant, (which, the Lord knows, would have been that far from grieving my conscience, that it would have been the greatest comfort I could have had, that the Lord had done me that honour, and given me that constancy, to be ἀποστάτης * for his name, rather than I should do against my conscience, for fear of men, or any

* Put out from the congregation.

earthly thing) I would have thought them Turks and Pagans that would have refused to have conversed with me. And, as I wrote to you before, none of the ministers of Paris would believe me, that you would or durst excommunicate any for not subscribing that Covenant; and the ministers declared to him, that, notwithstanding his excommunication, they would admit him to the communion, since his excommunication was not for any crime, but *par raison d'état seulement*; but he communicates with the English. All Scots and English here, both of one party and other, respect him; and I assure you he defends the Protestant religion stoutly against Papists, and none of our Scots Papists dare meddle with him, after they had once essayed him. Be not too violent then, and do as you would be done to, for you know not how the world will turn yet. I shall not seek greater punishment of my greatest enemies than to live as miserable a life as he says he has lived, and I know I have lived, since this business began; and when they have essayed our life as long as we have done, I am not afraid but they be a little tamed, and better conditioned, and not so cruel hearted. It is a wanton life to make good fare upon other men's purses, and lye in their wives bosom all night, and then urge other men, that may be as good, and acceptable to God, as themselves, to be persecuted. *Aliquid dandum humanitati, saltem charitati Christianae*; for me, *Non ignarus mali miseris succurrere disco*. And if you should never be so violent to us, yea, if you should bray us in a mortar, that will not

make us, against our conscience, to be of your mind. I am to stay but five or six weeks here, and converse little with him but *intra privatos parietes*, and I scandalize none by so doing, because all converse with him that are worth the conversing with. Thus strictly ——— remembering my service to your bed-fellow*, whose whole letters I have received every week, and am sorry she should be so ——— with them, I rest

Your loving brother,

R. BURNET.

* Elisabeth, second daughter of Sir Thomas Craig, so well known for his treatise *De Feudis*. The third daughter, Elisabeth, was married to Mr. Robert Burnet, afterwards one of the Lords of Session; she was the mother of Bishop Burnet; a woman very zealous for that cause which her husband condemns in this pathetic letter. While her son Bishop Burnet, was minister at Salton, he was seized with a violent fever, and, during the delirium attending his distemper, imagined that he was to entertain Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews; "Where shall we find a place for the Archbishop?" cried he. The old lady, forgetful of her son's condition, answered, "Do not let that disturb you, my dear, we will find a place for him—in the hottest corner of hell!"

JOHN LOCKHART
TO
THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I DID represent to his Majesty the true cause of delaying the proroguing of the Parliament until such time as his Majesty be acquainted with the dangerous consequences were like to arise from thence; shewing it did proceed from the earnest desire of the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, and of many others, well-wishers to his Majesty's service. His Majesty is displeased, that his directions, delivered to your Lordship in so positive a way, were not obeyed. Your friends here have done their best to extenuate and remove it, and in particular my Lord Carnwath, with all the solicitous care could be expected from a faithful friend.

I know your integrity in your Master's service, and am assured his Majesty's justice and goodness will not desire to make any of his servants guilty, although he desire to find out those that be so.

The delay of adjourning the Parliament, and the word *unlawful* in the act abolishing Bishops, are the great stumblings I meet with. I pray you bring all those adminicles and helps that may justify your whole proceedings, and be prepared to give such an account, if you shall be called to it, as may endure the strictest censure; for a resolu-

J. LOCKHART TO THE E. OF TRAQUAIR. 77

tion grounded on innocence needs not fear calumnies, or accidents of fortune.

I know you will witness your readiness in obeying his Majesty's commands, as he has prescribed, without looking to the effects they may produce, as it withdraws your eye from the orders now delivered. My Lord Carnwath did shew your last letters to his Majesty, wherein you declare the meeting of Articles to be discontinued, until the return of his Majesty's answer. This is so much to your advantage, differing nothing from this other prorogation to be made, but in the measure of time, as I beseech you bring good evidences with you to make it appear, for they are like enough to deny the acknowledgement of any thing which they conceive may be prejudicial unto them.

I hear several make a doubt how his Majesty's castles are furnished of victuals and ammunition, and that the cannon are not yet brought back to Edinburgh. But I am confident your care is and will be such, as you shall not be justly charged with any neglect that belongs to your trust. There is a speech, that my Lord Etrick * complains he is not readily answered of those necessaries he demands.

Of all your other directions, delivered to me, I shall give you an account at meeting. Be pleased

* Patrick Ruthven, afterwards Earl of Brentford; he was at this time, 1639, Governor of the castle of Edinburgh.

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to let me know, before your coming in to London, where I shall wait upon you, as

Your humble

and faithful servant,

J. LOCKHART.

Whitehall, 8th Nov.*

* The year is not added; but it must be 1639, because the writer speaks of Traquair as Commissioner to the Parliament.

THE LEADERS OF THE SCOTTISH
ARMY, 1640.

TO

A PERSON UNKNOWN, IN FRANCE.

S I R,

THE state of our affairs has constrained us to levy a numerous army for preserving this kingdom from utter ruin. Hence it was that we could not permit Colonel Erskine to transport his regiment [into France] last year, and the same cause still obliges us to employ the Colonel at home, in the defence of his country; although he is exceedingly zealous in the public service, yet he will not accept of any commission from us, unless with the consent of his most Christian Majesty, and under the condition of being permitted to repair to France at whatever time he may be required.

We are well assured of your good-will and affection towards this country, whose interest is inseparable from that of France. We have lately heard how much trouble you have taken in recommending our business to the King your master. We take this opportunity of testifying our gratitude for the friendship which you have already expressed, and which we are confident you will continue to express; and, at the same time, we give you a fresh occasion of conferring your favours upon us, by your representing to the King, and to his Eminence, that the employment which we of-

80 TO A PERSON UNKNOWN.

fer to Colonel Erskine will do no prejudice to the service of his Majesty, but, on the contrary, will greatly promote it. Peace is the aim of our desires, and the wish of our souls; as soon as that is concluded, we shall demonstrate, by our assisting Colonel Erskine in his levies, and by procuring good recruits for his Majesty's service, that true Scotsmen can never forget their antient alliances, and the common interest which unites them with France. And therefore, Sir, we again entreat you to represent what has been here said, and the situation of Colonel Erskine's affairs, to his Majesty, and to his Eminence. We hope to obtain those favours by your means, and, besides the obligation which you will thereby confer on the Colonel, you will oblige us to remain,

S I R,

Your most humble servants,

A. LESLIE. ARGYLE. ROTHES. MAR.
BALCARRAS. BALMERINO. SEAFORT.

From the Camp at Dunse,
20th August, 1640.

* Communicated by James Erskine of Alva, Esq; one of the Senators of the College of Justice in Scotland. As this letter is written in bad French, the editor judged it expedient to publish a translation of it rather than the original.

THE LORD CONWAY'S RELATION
 CONCERNING
 THE PASSAGES IN THE LATE
 NORTHERN EXPEDITION, 1640.*

THAT the causes of the losses in the North may be the better known, the Lord Conway thinks it fit to relate what the designs were in the first enterprizes, as far as did fall within his cognizance.

An army of 20,000 foot, and 2000 horse, was designed for the borders of Scotland, near Berwick; and another of 10,000 foot, and 1500 horse, was to be transported out of Ireland, into the town of Air in Scotland; also 10,000 foot and 500 horse were to be sent into the north of Scotland, and a fleet of ships, with some soldiers, were to go into the Frith.

These forces were to be ready at a certain day, by the act of council of war; for which purpose there were divers sums of money levied, and the

* Most readers of English history content themselves with the very imperfect account which Lord Clarendon gives of Lord Conway's conduct, B. ii. P. 141—145. It is but just to hear what this noble commander has urged in his own vindication; it is preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, vol. 1579.

monies in certain were counted, what they would do, and a state accordingly made.

Why all this was not done (but that some troops of horse, and divers regiments of foot, were not raised at all, and the rest of the foot so late, that there was no time to exercise them) he knows not. Before the 2000 horse were levied entirely, the Lord Conway was sent to Newcastle, because it was doubted that the Scots had a design upon the town. For the defence of it, 6000 of the trainbands of Yorkshire were appointed to march thither; and, to that end, monies were advanced to every regiment; and ——— of the regiments did march as far as Durham; then order came to send them back again. And thus the Lord Conway was left at Newcastle only with 500 horse.

Upon view of the walls, gates, and situation of the place, he found the town to be very weak; which, immediately after his coming thither, he represented to the court; and within two or three days after, he sent to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Northumberland, and bishoprick of Durham.

Those of Northumberland gave him a meeting at Morpeth; where he advised with them of the condition and strength of the country, and of the best means to get intelligence of the Scots preparations, and to put the country upon the Borders in the best posture of defence; which they undertook to do, according to the direction then given; and to send men into Scotland, to espy and keep strict watch upon the Borders, and to give advertisement, from time to time, what should happen.

Also, upon some discourse, with the gentlemen of the country, the Lord Conway propounded to the Lord General * the fitness of fortifying Morpeth, and two other places, whither soldiers might retire, if they should happen to be broken; and by some one of which any army that come out of Scotland must pass, they having been heretofore fortified.

His Lordship writ also to the Lieutenant Governor of Berwick, to be careful of using all means of enquiry, how the Scots should advance in their preparations, and to give timely advertisement thereof; who returned assurance of little appearance, yet of any considerable forces they had, and that all care should be taken to observe them.

His Lordship, by his letter to the Lord General, advised, that arms should be gotten, especially muskets, and sent down to those of Northumberland, who were willing to pay for them, if they might be furnished for their money; also, advising they might be sold to them without gain, at easy rates; for that the getting from the country in that kind, will much discontent them, and discourage them in his Majesty's service.

He also propounded to the town of Newcastle, to furnish men for their own defence, and that the King would arm them; which, at first, they denied to hearken to, fearing they should be forced to continue them as trained-bands. But, upon farther examination, and apprehension of their

* Earl of Northumberland.

own danger, promised to furnish men only to use muskets and pikes. And the Lord Conway, by several letters to the Lord General, and other great ministers, did represent the fitness to have Newcastle fortified; which, with a moderate charge, he thought might be made of sufficient strength, at least to keep out an enemy, until his Majesty's army might come and relieve it. And there was one hill, whereon a fort might be made, as well to keep out an enemy, as to bridle the town, if there should be cause. And because he found money was wanting, he propounded a way to raise the charge of it out of the business of the coals; which, notwithstanding, was not then thought fit to be done. So that there being no more forces at Newcastle but 500 horse, and it not being thought fit that his Majesty should be at any charge for fortifying the place in due time, the townsmen being unwilling to do any thing for their own safety; and upon this advertisement and intelligence that came to the court, direction was given to the Lord Conway, that if the Scots should come in, (as was believed they would before his Majesty's forces were drawn together) he should command the ships out of the river Tyne, lest they should be surprized; and Sir Jacob Astley, Serjeant Major General of the foot, that he should send up 4 or 5000 men from Selby. But Sir Jacob Astley did not think fit to send them, for the reasons exprest in a letter, dated the 10th of July, 1640, from him to Lord Conway, amongst other things, in these words following.

“ My Lord, I have orders from my Lord Ge-

neral to send 4 or 5000 men to your Lordship to Newcastle ; but, considering there is not such a number yet come, and those that are come have neither colours nor halberts, and want drums, I forbear, &c.

“ Now, my Lord, I am to receive all the arch-knaves in this kingdom, and to arm them at Selby. Before I came to Selby, some 500 of them were brought by Lieutenant Colonel Ballard. They beat up the officers and boors, and break up the prisons, &c.

“ Two days since Colonel Lawford's regiment came hither, who had, by the way, fought with all their officers, and, as they passed, abused all the country.” And, by other letters of the 13th and 18th of July, he intimated how impossible it would be to keep those men from mutiny, if they should miss their seven days pay, that they would disband and rise against their officers, and spoil the country ; and that part of his regiment raised in Daintree, was there totally disbanded, and that the Lieutenant Colonel Culpeper was beastly slain by the Devonshire men ; that 300 of the Lord Marquis's regiment refused absolutely to go to Hull, for fear of being shipped ; and that he went with 100 armed men, and took with him the Marshal General and 20 men, to force them away.”

Which general disorder, backwardness, and disaffection to the service, gave the Lord Conway apprehension, that the Scots would be encouraged thereby to make an attempt upon us, although it was against his judgment that they should do so,

Upon these collections he could make, (of what he heard out of Scotland) which was only of small numbers of men, that they had mustered and drawn together, at Leith, Dunse, and other places near the Borders ; but when his Lordship was advertised from court, where there was constant intelligence from every part of Scotland, of their preparations and intentions to come with a powerful army, being assured of it by a letter from Mr. Secretary Vane, dated the 13th of August, wherein is expressed as followeth.

“ My Lord, I have only to tell you in answer to your last, and your news there inclosed, that I gave his Majesty communication thereof, who compared it with others, and that it is my opinion, that you will shortly (if not before this comes to your hands) hear that the Scots will march into England. I wish I may be deceived ; for, as his Majesty's affairs are conditioned, I am one of those that desire not to hear that they should come on this side Tweed. I heard not of the order of bringing the army seven days behind in pay, and after that, fourteen days, until I was advertised of it out of the north ; but, as your Lordship saith, in case of unavoidable need, it must be born withal ; and you (I doubt not) but laying it for a ground, will persuade the officers thereto ; though I confess it *durus sermo*, and therefore I do not wonder at all if they were sad and melancholy when you declared the same unto them. It will be a great service unto the King and state, if your Lordship, by your conduct and wisdom, can so far prevail with them, as

to keep them from mutiny, until monies come down, which his Majesty and my Lords are hastening to you with all possible diligence; for it will be worse than ever, to have disorders, either of horse or foot, fall out. Now, it cannot be long expected (if at all) but that the Scots will be with you; and I heartily pray to God, that they knowing so much of our affairs, our disagreements and disorders bring them not in amongst us. The same God direct you, and give you good success, to act all for the best these difficult times." Which advertisement agreeing with that the Lord Conway had heard by one whom he had sent into Scotland, who was newly returned; also by relation of Sir Henry Gibbs, who came from thence, his Lordship wrote to the General, the 10th of August, as followeth.

"My Lord, I now am informed by Sir Henry Gibbs, who having business with my Lord Haddington*, went to the Borders and sent for him. He came, and told Sir Henry, that, without all doubt, the Scottish army would come into England within three days; he is most confident of it, and faith, that there will be 30,000, I see no help for this town, but that it will be lost. I have written divers times that it might be made defensible; but it was not thought fit. Now, it is not possible to

* Thomas Hamilton, second Earl of Haddington, blown up at Dunglass castle in Berwickshire, where he commanded for the Covenanters, 1640.

resist, if cannon be brought before it. Howsoever, I will see if I can persuade them in the town to make some defence, if it be possible, to keep it a day or two.

“ The King commands me to burn the suburbs. Burning of them will be of no use, the houses being all of stone, so that the walls will be of as much annoyance to the town, as if the houses were untouched. If I leave any number of men in the town, their arms will help to arm the Scots, and they are in great danger to fall into their power. If I quit the town, and leave no soldiers, I am sure it will be imputed to me as a most dishonourable thing, when an enemy is master of the field that ought to be quit of him, which cannot be kept, or in such manner, as he shall receive least benefit by it. I have wrote to Sir Jacob Astley, to send hither the foot, if he think it considerable to send them without money. If they come, it is to be feared they will run over the country more than the Scots, who, I verily believe, will do no harm, but will pay for what they have, if I be not misinformed.

“ I have wrote to the Vice President, to put the trained-bands in readiness, and to know of him how the country will stand affected. From Mr. Wilmot, I heard yesterday, that Sir Jacob Astley had written for, and he had sent him two troops of horse, and Captain Herbert, because he feared a mutiny will undo all, if it happen. I purpose to send for the three troops out of Westmoreland. If innovation be not like to be there, I will imme-

diately give order that all the ships go out of the river, those, that cannot, be burnt or sunk. They say there is a way to sink them that they may be again recovered. I do hold my purpose of going with the horse (and what musketeers on horseback I can get) towards them; although there will be little to be done against so many with so few." &c.

And also, at the same time, the Lord Conway wrote to the Earl of Strafford, and inclosed a copy of the aforementioned letter unto the Lord General. Unto which, the Earl of Strafford was pleased to return an answer to the Lord Conway, the 15th of August, in these words following.

"My Lords, Yours of the 10th were presently delivered to me, as I sat at the board; and I understand, the other to my Lord General, whereof you favoured me with a copy, gave much discourse at court, without advantage to your Lordship. It is true, it is observed to be contrary to all that your Lordship hath formerly wrote, wherein you judge England to be secure of the Scots this year; and to believe so mightily an increase of number above what you formerly mentioned, in truth, cannot probably be really so, upon no more ground than the bare relation of Gibbs, a known Covenanter in heart, and too not in his own view, but only in the credit and report of the Lord Haddington, is not a little wondered at. But also those, who wish you not well, severely intepret to your prejudice, that, upon so slight an advertisement, and from a person you had so little cause absolutely to trust in that business, you should so suddenly pronounce

the town of Newcastle lost, and so early take into your thoughts the quitting of that place. Besides, we all believe it to be a northern crack, in regard we do not hear any thing yet from the Governor of Berwick, contrary to that he had formerly written in that behalf, which, we conceive, he certainly should have done, before this time, if the Scots had been suddenly increased 12,000 men, as Gibbs reports, as it seems, to you. Nevertheless, I have written to the Vice President to have all the trained-bands in Yorkshire in readiness, and will to-morrow move, that Colonel Goring and another regiment of foot, with all the horse, may instantly be directed to march up unto you; which, altogether, with the trained-bands of Durham, Northumberland, and the town of Newcastle itself, I should think would be sufficient to make good the place, till the rest of the army march up to their relief. But, for the love of Christ, think not so early of quitting the town, burning the suburbs, or sinking of ships. For, believe me, if any such thing escape you, there are those that will presently misconstrue you therein to the King. And, with all my heart, I wish you had not wrote that letter; it being most true, that Sir John Conyers * makes no mention of it; which makes me absolutely to believe Gibbs's news either to be out of folly or malice, mistaken or misrepresented to your Lordship."

By which letter it appears, that the Earl of Strafford doth lay blame upon the Lord Conway;

* Governor of Berwick.

and imputes it as a crime, to believe the coming of the Scots with so great an army, because he was formerly of opinion that they would not be ready for an invasion this year.

The cause of that opinion was, that he, from time to time, was assured from court, that there would be monies to supply the King's first designs; and then he had reason to judge, that they would be so far from attempting us, that they would be hard put to it to defend themselves. Besides, the Lord Conway had no notice given him from the court, till a few days before, what the Scots noblemen and gentlemen about the King had informed, who must of necessity have retained knowledge of every thing that was done in every part of that kingdom; there being many of the best quality attending his Majesty, who had in Scotland fathers and mothers, wives and children, brothers, sisters, allies and friends, who, as the Lord Conway has heard since, gave certain notice of all the preparations; and if the said Earl would not believe them yet, it could not be any better in him but a wilful unbelief. And it could not be expected, that the Lord Conway could have so good intelligence of their preparations, which were made in small numbers, and in several remote places, till they were drawn up together, for that he was a stranger there, and had no allowance for intelligences, which should have required great sums, to be well done; and it was not to be done but by employing Scotsmen; wherein they had a great advantage of us, in not suffering any of our nation to go to them, and

their's having free passage with us. And for Sir Henry Gibbs, he was a man ever believed to be an honest man, and faithful servant to the King ; neither had the Lord Conway heard any other of him at court, or there in the country, where he was well known to divers gentlemen his neighbours. And he had been informed of the Lord Haddington, that he was much of the King's part, as far as he durst appear. And for the second part, to think Newcastle would be lost, the Lord Conway conceiveth to be no sudden or rash opinion ; for he had divers times before propounded that the town should be fortified, and declared, that without fortification it was not tenable ; as several letters, written to him after the same was lost, may witness. In one of which, from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, amongst other things, these words were contained.

“ It is true, that your letter that you sent, and the opinion you express, what would become of Newcastle, in case the Scots came in, was censured, and not to your advantage ; and so much I wrote to my Lord Lieutenant since his going northward ; and all that you wrote is found too true. But that which is thought might have been done more, is, that the hill on this side might have had some defence put upon it ; and that, as yourself writes, more might have been done to hinder the passage of Newburn-ford ; but if the soldiers there, and men of experience be of opinion, that, as things were then conditioned, you could not hinder them ; and that things which you did at the first

advise, are now doing by the Scots, I think you mean surely that you cannot be blamed for the one, but somebody may be blamed for the other," &c. And also, in another letter from Mr. Secretary Windebanke, dated 23d September, these words, amongst other things, are contained.

"My Lord of Canterbury hath abundantly cleared any thing that can be objected against you, concerning the neglecting or fortifying of Newcastle, which is evident you did propose timely enough to have preserved it from surprisal." Neither could the Lord Conway have had much hope in forces at Selby, because Sir Jacob Astley had divers times advertised him of the want of money, the unruliness of the soldiers, their want of arms, and total ignorance to use them, which was such, that the Earl of Strafford in the great Council did openly declare, that he told his Majesty, that upon first sight of the soldiers, it was was not safe for his Majesty to hazard any thing with that army, by reason of their unskilfulness of their arms. And therefore the Lord Conway doth think it injustice to require another to do that, which he that required it, doth not think fit to be done. And it was impossible it should be otherways, being levied and brought together so late in July and August, when the service was to be done, and the Scots were exercising two years together, and many of them had been in the field the year before. Also, from the trained-bands of Yorkshire less good was to be expected, as appears by a letter the Lord Conway received from the Vice-President of

York, about the 14th of August, wherein is expressed as followeth.

“Yesterday immediately after my return to York, I received not your letter till Wednesday morning, I sent forth directions to the Colonels of the County, or to the Lieutenant-Colonels, whereof we want at this present time; and my Lord Lieutenant, having been so full of other business of great importance, hath not as yet supplied their places with others; nor indeed can we find fit persons for that employment, who stand rightly affected to his Majesty's service; in which respect, two of the four were lately discharged from their commands.

“I doubt extremely they are not now in so sudden a condition as they were last year, many arms being lost in that expedition, and none to be bought ever since, for supply of defence. A great number likewise of exercised men, both horse and foot, are gone from their master's service into other countries, or several parts of this county, so as we cannot meet with them again, but are forced to take up new men. And though we have, from time to time, called upon the commanders to exercise often, yet I find, that by reason of the country's great expence, both this year and the last, and the damage it hath sustained by the present army, they have so much forborn their duty. But, which is worst of all, it is much to be feared, by these murmurs and repinings that fall from our gentry's mouths in every place, upon all occasions, that they will not stir with their men further than

the necessity of their own safety will enforce them, which they think will be sufficiently preserved, if they march into the confines of their country.

“ I perceive likewise by some of them which I doubt will prove gentlemen, that they will expect advance-money, if they stir, as was lately allowed when six of our regiments should have marched to Newcastle. I beseech God work better affections in us than that I find; for I am persuaded, that if Hannibal were at our gates, some had rather open to them, than keep them out. It grieves me to give your Lordship this account; I pray God I may be mistaken therein; but in obedience to your commands in this particular, and what hope may be expected from our forces, and the gentry of our country, I have truly represented to your Lordship my opinion, with my apprehensions, and the reasons of them. The country is very willing, upon my Lord Lieutenant's last letter, to trust the country for 14 days; but I perceive his Lordship will have many bills of fare presented to him when the army is gone from us.

“ Monies, we yet hear of none, than 8000 l. which our High Sheriff lately paid in; some of which is already issued. I think the Scots had better to advance a great way into Northumberland, than to send the army, to encounter them, without pay; for then, without question, they will prove more ravenous upon the country, than the Scots, who, for their own ends, and to gain a party, will give the country all the fair quarter that may be,

which our men neither can nor will do. 'Tis time to forbear," &c.

Besides all these, the Lord Conway had advertisement from court, that the first counsels for so many arms was so far from being pursued, as now the Lord Marquis of Hamilton's expedition was wholly to be laid aside; that the Lord Strafford's regiments were not to be raised, and some of the regiments of the north were to be reduced; and that instead of 20,000 men appointed for the Borders, there should be only 14 or 15,000; for the paying of which there was so little money, that it was not to be hoped that they should be held together without mutiny. So that things standing in this state, they gave such evident proof either of the weakness, or non-pursuance of that first counsel, which designed so powerful invasion, and was then forced to a defensive war, and upon all possible disadvantage, that the Lord Conway had just cause to believe, that not only Newcastle would be lost, but God knows how much of England more, if that an invader would attempt it, and those of the country would not defend, and therefore did foresee the town must be abandoned, quitting that which could not be kept, and leaving it in such manner, as it should give the least help as might be to the invaders that should take it, that with unfoiled force, a good resistance might be given, in a convenient place, or attempt might be made to cause them to retire into Scotland; and whether that were best, or go on headlong till we fall into the ditch, he leaves to the world to judge.

The burning of the suburbs, in case of danger, was an express command from the King; and therefore it was the Lord Conway's duty to give a reason why he thought it not necessary to be done; and the proposition of sinking ships did proceed from a command he received in these words, amongst others, in a letter of the 23d June, 1640.

“When you hear that the Scots are approaching, your Lordship must command all the shipping out of the Tyne, lest the Scots surprize them.” And because it was not considered whether the winds and tides would serve, the Lord Conway did propound the sinking of them, to help the defect of the command, and to shew himself obedient in it, in case they could not be sent out of the river, which was a thing very reasonable and fit to be done, therefore much mistaken of them that thought otherwise of it.

This letter, and the order sent for keeping of the town of Newcastle, by fortifying of it, when it was too late, made the Lord Conway lay aside all other thoughts, but only to endeavour to do that which was commanded; therefore he sent for the Deputy Lieutenants of Northumberland and the bishoprick of Durham, who promised to do all that was possible for his Majesty's service, and accordingly employed their best endeavours, but the country would not lend any money to pay the trained-bands, or the King's army, nor furnish any horses to mount musketeers, nor would the train-bands move without pay, being rather desirous to stay at their houses, to look to the safety

of their goods and friends. So that Lord Conway having no forces but the horse to go out with into Northumberland, and having sent men of experience to view the country, and the river of Cor-kett, (there being no place found where it was possible for him to give the Scots any stop) he did not think it fit to go out to meet them, since he was not able to hinder their passage; and that he must be forced so soon as he shall see them, to retire before them, and thinking it not considerable to be afraid, or go and meet them whom he could not meddle withal. For small parties would serve to bring intelligence of the motion of their army, but the letter which he received from the Earl of Strafford, the 15th of August, declaring what ill constructions were made of the Lord Conway's advertisement of the 10th of August, did make him doubt that as ill interpretation would be made of this, which he thought the best counsel, not to move against the Scots, until he had forces, and place fitting to encounter them. And it is most likely it would have fallen out so, for that he did understand by letters from court, that they did think, that the Scots might be staid at Alnwick or Morpeth, some days, two places they came not at, and which are such, as one might be as well commanded to keep the wind out of the door with one's hand, as to stay an army there. And the country likewise, although they would not contribute any thing to their own safety, yet did murmur that Northumberland was abandoned. Therefore, to avoid the danger which he

doubted from the court, (if it were possible to keep those people of Northumberland from assisting of the Scots) he went out four days with 1000 horse, and being without ability to do any hurt to the Scots army, was forced to retire before them to Newcastle, whither Sir Jacob Astley was come, during the Lord Conway's absence, and had brought with him the soldiers from Selby, that were armed, leaving 4000 behind him that wanted arms, which 4000 were after sent to Newcastle, but were turned back again without arms, as they came, there being none for them, nor monies to pay them there.

Sir Jacob Astley had used all diligence to make quarters for the soldiers without the town, for security of it, as well as the time would possibly admit, according to the commandment then sent to view the river of Tyne, which was found to have many fords, and the higher up the river, were the fords the larger and shallower. And because it was believed that the enemy would pass at Newburne, he had caused the engineers to cast up some works there; and in obedience from the court, to use all means possible for the defence of the river; after one night's stay at Newcastle, the Lord Conway went to Newburne with all the horse, and about 2000 foot. That day he came (being the 27th of August) the Scots came to the other side of the works that were made upon the passage so flight, that the Lord Conway would not have hazarded the troops in any such engagement, where they should have been sure to have been beaten,

And altho' Sir Jacob Astley came the next day with 2000 men more, and increased his strength; yet the Lord Conway, not to engage the troopers farther than he might safely retire, had resolved to make retreat to Newcastle, if he had not, at that instant, received a letter from the Earl of Strafford, commanding him to fight, which followeth in these words.

“ * My Lord, I purposing to have been moving towards you to-morrow, but I am so sick and weak, as the King will not suffer me to stir hence, till Saturday, at the soonest. Your Lordship will permit me to deal plainly with you; I find all men, in this place, extremely ill satisfied with the guiding of the horse, and publish it infinitely to your disadvantage, that having with you 2000 horse, and 10,000 foot, you should suffer an enemy to march so long a way, without any skirmish, nay, without once looking on them. And it imports you most extremely, by some noble action, to put yourself from under the weight of ill tongues. Your last letter certified, as that the enemy is intending to pass the river at Hixcombe †. If so, I shall advise, that you, with all the horse, and at least 8000 foot, and all the cannon you have, march opposite unto them, on this side of the river; and be sure, whatever follows, to fight with them upon their passage. Indeed you look ill about you,

* This letter is printed amongst Lord Strafford's.

† *Qu.* Hexham.

if you secure not the river. If there be a bridge at Hixcombe, it would be broken down. Dear my Lord, take the advice of the best men, and do something worthy of yourself. There was sent a man to visit the Scots army, who hath been there amongst them, and he assures us, upon his life, that their horse is not at all considerable, which still lays it heavilier upon you; their foot, at most, but 20,000. And this, I am confident, you may rely upon." Which letter, although it be said to be an advice, yet the Lord Conway conceives it to be a command, and as much as was possible for a General to command, and oratory to enforce.

The last prescribes how he should fight; the first part adviseth him to break his neck upon any advantage. And howsoever this is said to be but an advice, if the Lord Conway had not observed it, it would then have proved a command. And it is most probable, that the miscarriage of the business would have been laid upon his not fighting with the Scots; since, it was endeavoured to be laid upon his fighting, disavowing that he had order so to do, and before that, laying great blame upon his not fighting with the Scots, coming through Northumberland, and not understanding the country; maintaining, that the Lord Conway, with those horse he had, might have gone to the Scots army, and counted every colour, and cornets, and to have come in at pleasure, without being touched; a thing impossible to be done, unless he had found them as David did Saul and his army, when he took away the spear and pot of

water from his head. And for the good intelligence that the Earl of Strafford had of the Scots forces, the Lord Conway assureth, that he received as certain information of them, as it was possible to be gotten, both by soldiers that put themselves in a disguise, and marched in their army a day or two, and by many gentlemen of the country that saw their army march ; so that he had very good reason to believe their reports, before any thing that could be informed to the Earl of Strafford, by any single intelligence to the contrary, who had not so good means to know, or abilities to judge of the strength of the Scots army, as divers that gave their informations from their own view ; and taking it for granted, that they were not more than 20,000 men, and their horse inferior to ours, it was no wisdom to hazard a day with them, with 10,000 foot, and 2000 horse, and that not only upon the disadvantage we had in the number, but the rawness and untowardness of our men. The Scots having made a battery, and drawn down their army, our works were provided with men to defend them, and with others to second them. Six troops of horse were placed to charge the Scots where they came over, and six or seven more were placed to second them. When the Scots forces were in a readiness, and their cannon placed, our works were not proof against them, the soldiers were unacquainted with the cannon, and therefore did not endure many shot ; those that were to second them followed their example.

The horse charged the Scots, and drove them back into the river, but the cannon beating thro', some of our troops that were set to second, went off; when they saw the place forsaken, they should have gone on the left hand, that they might have gone off with the foot; but, mistaking their direction, went on the right hand, which carried them up the hill, where they found some troops. Whilst they consulted what was best to be done, the Scots horse came up in two divisions, and with them 1000 musketeers. The first charge was upon the regiment commanded by Mr. Wilmot, who was there taken prisoner, his men forsaking him, and falling foul of some troops of the Lord Conway's regiment, disordered them; the rest, being charged, did as they saw others do before them.

The cause of the loss that day was, the disadvantage of the ground, and the slight fortification, which the shortness of the time would not afford to be better; neither would it admit us to make any works upon the hill, where we stood opposite against the Scots; and when we came to fight, the soldiers did not their parts as they ought to have done, being the most of them the meanest sort of men about London, and unacquainted with service, and forgetting to do that which they had often been commanded and taught.

After the disorder, the horse, by Lord Conway's commandment, went to Durham, the foot to Newcastle, where it was consulted by the Lord Conway, Sir Jacob Astley, and all the Colonels, what was fit to be done. By all their consents, it

was agreed, the town should be quitted, because it was not tenable, being altogether unfortified on the Bishoprick's side, and the fortifications on the other side were very inconsiderable. To stay there, would but increase the loss; it would not save any thing. The gaining of two or three days could not much strengthen the town, there being not any place that could be made defensible in that time, and the loss of our men would greatly lessen the King's army; and this was agreeable to that which was thought fit at court; for with all speed orders were dispatched, by several ways, to command the bringing of the army from Newcastle; as it appears by the two ensuing letters from the Earl of Strafford, both dated the 29th of August, in these words following.

“ After our hearty commendations to your Lordship, and the rest. This sad accident which hath befallen us, upon the passing of the Scots over the Tyne, will fetch all our councils round; there is no remedy, we must retire, and, as I think, to Hull, the horse to Durham. I shall gather and settle the best I can, and so march up to join with the rest of such horse and foot as are left us. And how to fetch that part of our foot that are at Newcastle, is, God knows, our greatest care and difficulty. I send you this by the way of Sunderland. I will, before I sleep, send another to Hixcombe. In my opinion, your best way will be to ship yourselves, if it be possible you can, and ——— for Hull; that were best; but if that cannot be, then, if the town be not to be held any

longer, to make the best composition for yourselves with honour; but therein I must wholly submit to your own better judgment upon the place; and so, in haste, I commit you to the blessed protection.

“Postscript. Before I had closed this letter, his Majesty came to this town, who approves of all before-written; only adviseth, that if there be any possibility of keeping the town, (then, that shipping the rest) you leave 2000 men in the town, to defend it.”

“It was very good news here to me, to understand that the foot were all advanced on this side of Durham, nor is there any thing to be done more, than to lose no time in your retreat; for there is no thought of fighting with an afrighted army, till they join with the King’s forces, which, I trust, will be near 20,000. I will use all possible diligence to provide as much bread as possible I can in this town; and have given order that 8000 l. shall meet us at Topcliffe, to furnish the soldiers with money. Put as much life in your men as you can, and assure them, within a few days, there will be 80,000 l. on the way from London, which will give every man his own. Really we shall want no money. I have taken the like course for baking of bread, and buying, here at Northallerton, as also about the country; and I trust from York we shall have good quantities meet us in the way. I shall think the time long, till I see you and Sir Jacob Astley, to whom I pray you show this letter; and I pray you have some horsemen behind

you, that may be as a watch upon the motion of our enemy, and shall bring us timely advertisement what they do. And so I rest."

And although the town of Newcastle had been kept some days, yet would it have been not with any advantage to the King's service, seeing he had no monies. And, by all guesses, his chiefeft strength being in choicet men that were at Newcastle, it would have been much to the King's disservice to have put those men inevitably to have undergone base conditions, when they must compound with the town, if it had pleased the invader.

Besides these reasons, though there was a good quantity of powder and lead in the town, yet there wanted muskets and bullets, there being no moulds to make them; which want cannot be imputed to a commander, any more, than if he commanded a certain number of musketeers, and that when they came to use their muskets, they would not do service for want of scouring-sticks. If there had been moulds, bullets would not have been wanting; but bullets would not have served to keep a town that wanted fortification.

Now, upon the whole matter, it may easily be judged, whether these two single actions, of the retreat of Newburne, and quitting Newcastle, were the causes of our losses, or the defect of ill-grounded designs, to make a war without monies to go on with it, and to begin it at sea; thereby giving the Scots a pretence to attempt us by land, before we were able to resist them.

F I N I S.

SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON
OF WARISTON

TO

LORD BALMERINO.

MY NOBLE LORD,

THIS is only to show you God's wise dispensation of keeping us continually in exercise with his interlaid good and sad news, and successive hopes and fears; for, on a sudden, a storm has arisen here among us, occasioned by some devilish plot of our adversaries, whereof Traquair is not thought innocent——raising a slander against us, as growing remiss against the two incendiaries and episcopacy, that thereby we might be odious with the people, or, by our clearing ourselves, be odious to the King. This slander forced us to give in to the English commissioners a paper clearing ourselves, whereof some having caused print the copy, and affix it to all the common places, as the Scots commissioners proclamation, the King has run stark mad at it, and his council has been extremely offended at the printing of it in England, without the King's authority, and, upon our denial of any order for printing, they mind to recal it by public proclamation. But the King, in his passion, said some harsh expressions to all our commissioners, as, that no ambassadors durst have done it for their hanging, that we were guilty of sedition, and that it was an seditious libel, that he

would make us repent it, and that thereby we had tint [lost] our priviledge, meaning our safe-conduct. This was all in passion, but they were evil-favoured words. To tell you the truth, none can justify the printing of it, neither knew I of it; and albeit the paper, because of its bitterness, be called Johnston's paper, yet it was delivered to the English commissioners *or ever* I did so much as see it; some has been over busy in it, to make some of us odious to the King, because they saw his countenance changing towards us more nor to themselves. But I trust God shall blow over this storm with the rest, and turn this plot on the projectors of it. You cannot but see a providence of the Lord in making some men, upon discontent, so hot-spirited and fiery against episcopacy. I hope none will be feared, that Lothian, Loudon, or myself, will grow remiss, for all the favour and place in the world; but, it may be, if the King's countenance had turned so towards them, as they apprehend it is towards us, they would have been *more remiss*, and less violent nor [than] we are. The plague of God will light on that preferment that turns away a man's heart, or weakens his hands, in the work of God. But we have been all over-rash in suffering this to be printed, till we had formally given in our demand for removal of episcopacy, with the reasons thereof, that may convince the judgment of the parliament that *exoneravimus plenè et planè animas nostras;*" and God himself will be seen in this our duty. I got the letter with Maitland's man. Wonder that Traquair got information of

his ————— he, or his friends for him, professeth that he will impeach Argyle, Rothes, and me, for treasonable speeches, and that, if he must fall, he shall leave nothing undone to make heaven and earth fall with him.

[Some lines illegible.]

We have sent now to stay Argyle till *this storm* be blown by. The King will not *suffer* any thing to be *changed* in the treaty, but only *refers* to his own declaration, which would be ambulatory, and which we cannot accept, nor do any thing as commissioners, but in and by the treaty with the English commissioners from him and the parliament. While I was writing this, I hear the ————— morning has gotten the proclamation put over until Monday, and it may be then, by some more *smooth* fair paper, excusing the printing of it, we get it prevented. I wish, in your letter, we were again directed to seek an warrant to the Advocate, who, as I hear, has gotten a command not to pursue; yet even that will help Traquair's guiltiness. Thus in *haste*, with Arthur Erskine.

Your Lordship's humble servant,

A. J.

27th February, [1641.]

PART OF A LETTER
 FROM
 LORD MAITLAND*
 TO
 LORD BALMERINO [probably.]

MY NOBLE LORD,

———— I THOUGHT I could not but let you know, that the violence of that anger, I hope, is past, which his Majesty was in about that paper which was given in the 24th February; and I believe the paper which was given in yesterday to clear our intentions, will stop all the violent courses was [that were] spoke of, either by proclamation, or otherwise. In the mean time, I believe that paper was not altogether fruitless, for the city was content to lend 160,000 l. to the parliament yesterday, which they refused before. This will, I hope, do good to our army, when we get our proportion of it. ———

London, 2d March, 1641.

* Afterwards Duke of Lauderdale. The reader, by comparing this letter with the foregoing one, may form some judgment of the political zeal of that remarkable personage, who seems, on this occasion, to justify a measure for which even Wariston himself could offer no excuse.

W A R I S T O N
TO
L O R D B A L M E R I N O.

MY NOBLE LORD,

ALBEIT I writ largely yesternight with the merchant post, this is to shew you that I have heard since, that the parliament will not readily grant a new month's maintenance, but only for fifteen days, and so for horses other fifteen, and will desire an index of our demands under this last article; and that Traquair having undertaken to the King (as we hear, but know not the certainty) to alter or put off our demands anent [concerning] the Council and Session (whereof I sent you before a copy then agreed on) the Sheriff-clerk and B. Swinton, this day, with great heat, hath disputed against our seeking the King's chusing the Council and Session by advice of our oath, and alledging, that our first instructions therefor were taken away by that instruction, sent up with Maitland, for seeing honest men provided to places of State and Session, &c. Lord Rothes, Loudon, and myself strictly abide by it, and shew here there was neither any contrariety, nor albeit there was, could we but obey the first, which was subscribed by both quorums, and declared unrepealable by any one of the quorums; so that, changing only some few words, we have forced them to keep the article. By this ye may know who stands strictest

for the country, and who is seeking themselves, as Mar and some others did at the first union. I see also by them, that upon that *motion* of some honest men to be in Session and Council, and the other of getting servants about the King and Prince, that they will take upon them here to nominate the particular persons, which, I think, should only be competent to the Committees, yea unto the States alone, which they may do after serious resolution; but that, in the mean time, we should get the King's grant of the general, by their advice. Look what warrant ye would send to prevent inconvenients that may arise by our overmuch taking on with the Papists. The Lieutenant,* Arundell, and Berkshire have made some faction in the lower house, for to propone a pursuit against the Marquis, † because they see themselves ruined by his standing more with the favour of the honest men of both kingdoms, but they have been *diverted* from proponing it. There is nothing in it when all is done, and all that are for us, or our cause, in the country here, are so resolute to crush it, to affront the first motions of it, that it will tend to his honour, rather than to his prejudice. Traquair's hand is not thought free of this; God will discover him more and more; “*Quos Jupiter vult perdere, eos dementat.*”——

* The great Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

† Probably, the Marquis of Hamilton.

I pray God that no mischief be wrought at home. Hasten any other questions ye would send to us; and advise solidly anent the securing clauses of the act of parliament that ratify the treaty; advise it with Sir Thomas Nicolson and Durie, &c. The Lord be with you.

Your Lordship's humble servant,

A. J.

3d March.

Make use of the Lieutenant's charge, which I sent you with the act of triennial parliament.

CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THE LETTERS

FROM

W A R I S T O N

TO

L O R D B A L M E R I N O. *

3d March.

THE Lieutenant's process [Lord Strafford's trial] continueth every day, and yet they are but at the ninth article. I can give no judgment of other business till that be ended. — There are some surmises among themselves of plots of the adversaries from the Irish and the English army against themselves. Upon our removal [the return of the Scottish army homewards] what course they will take, either to stay and linger us, or save themselves by themselves, as yet is not known. They are unhappy men that would now desire to come up, [from Scotland to London;] they are safer at home, as manifest think here. We will keep their fast on Sunday and Tuesday; I pray God to make it powerful and successful for Christ's crown, and good of the whole isle.

* There are extant, in the Advocate's Library, many letters written by Wariston to Lord Balmerino, during the sitting of the English Parliament, in 1641. The reader is here presented with those parts of them which seem most curious and characteristical.

9th March.——Truly we have had a great mistiness and darkness of business here this fifteen days. All men's hearts began to fail them, and the enemies to rejoice; but the Lord, who doth his own work in his own way, seems to turn the chace; for yesterday in the over-house, [house of Lords] when Bristol, Saville, Hertford, and sundry others removed out of the house, in anger about the Lieutenant's business, Say, Mandeville, Bedford, Essex, Brook, and many with them, bide still, and back the lower house in that pursuit; and this day the committee anent [concerning] episcopacy reported to the lower house, that they saw the Bishops civil places in Parliament, Council, &c. to be unlawful, and their sole power of ordination and jurisdiction, which is intended to be voiced to-morrow, and is hoped to be carried; and for strengthening this, in the afternoon we are to give in our demands, with the reasons thereof, for removal of episcopacy out of all his Majesty's dominions; as this day, on the desire of both houses, we have given in already an index of our demands, under our eight articles, wherewith the King has been ill-pleased, anent no war with foreigners, but by mutual counsel, and anent *conservationes pacis*, which he called our tables*. The cessation is continued a new month, which I think shall be their last with their will; and so, apparently, our Parliament must be prorogued to the end of May, or first of June.——

* The Assemblies held for subscribing the Covenant.

10th March. This day the haill [whole] lower house unanimously, but with four or five contrary voices, has declared that Bishops should have no civil places, and then again that they should have no voice in Parliament. The Earl of Cork has proved some foul points of new against the Lieutenant. There are some commissioners come from Ireland with report of arrêts or protestations there against the Prelates, and at night we gave in our large demand for unity in religion and government; all which coming on the King together, and on a suddenty, you may guess what a mood they would put him in. I wish his confidence of standing out have no ground from some at home.—— Tell these good news to the honest man and good Mr. Harry*; truly I think them worth praise and prayer from the kirk of Scotland solemnly, and the more, in regard of the unanimity, beyond many's fears.

12th March.——If from Newcastle ye send up any Baron with Argyle and Lindsay, whose coming I dare not counsel now till the storm be calmed, it will not be politicly nor safely done to send Laird of Keir here, to strengthen Traquair's faction and correspondence with Montrose at home; it will seem fitter to send up Sir Thomas Hope, on whom you may trust.——

2d April. The King and Bristol will strive to haste for to post 21 away to save Strafford and

* Mr. Harry Rollock, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

episcopacy, but we peremptorily insist for the Parliament's answer to our paper anent unity of religion. There are certainly many plots hatched to mine this kingdom here. They caused some of them try us to press the disbanding of the English and Irish army, wherewith mischief is intended, which we could not do without offering to dissolve ours. Strafford's business is but yet on the fifteenth article; the lower house, if they see that the King gains many of the upper house not to condemn him, they will make a bill of teinture *, and condemn him formally in their own house, and send it up to their house, as any other act of parliament, to be voiced formally. The town of London will give no money to the Parliament, till they do justice; they would take heed to the Parliament, that nothing be done to the prejudice of their friends, or in favour of the public incendiaries.———Your fast falls out in a seasonable time, if the Lord be pleased to grant as timeous a success.———I request your Lordship to cause your lawyers be busy for ordering of the process†, both to think on matters of relevancy and on probation; if it be not done, there is none in that

* So Wariston spells *attainder*; a plain proof, that, though he relished the thing, he was not acquainted with the word.

† The accusations intended in the Scottish Parliament against Traquair and the others, commonly termed *incendiaries*.

committee will be so much blamed, because there is none so much trusted with business of that importance, and because mercenary advocates are not so diligent and studious in public pursuit for the commonwealth, as in private processes of well paying clients, I request your Lordship to pay them before-hand largely, and to remember we have to do with a man * who will make no conscience, but think it good policy in such a strait, by large buddes, [bribes] to lay lawyers by, and cause their servants reveal all the secretest articles which are against him. Fy on them that will not be diligent in this! Was not that I must be one of the primeest witnesses in many points laid to his charge, and so cannot be his pursuer, if I was in their case I would have thought it a notable occasion to *express affection* to their cause and country; but howsoever, if I can win [get] down, I shall do my utmost to help them to propose things. Earl of Holland is made General of the King's army instead of Northumberland; this is strange, when armies should disband. We are not all so sure here as we have been, but, as long as there is any hazard, for no reason shall some of us come away, with God's grace.——

—— † *The* advocates here have fine rencounters of speech of *quick turns* of wit, but little syl-

* Meaning Traquair.

† This is taken from a letter much torn and defaced, whereof the date is not certain; several of the chasms are supplied by *conjecture*.

logistical solidity of matter. *I wish our process be better tabled at home, and our advocates better furnished. Let not money be spared on them, and spur them on ; let them now study all points of the disputes, seeing they have not much trouble by other processes. Oneill and Wilmot are gained by the King's private dealings to be on plots and engagements. If the French come over here, as is reported up and down, who knows if they should unite this isle, and force them to join against the foe, as the English coming to our borders, served us to think of unity among ourselves.*——Blessed be God that disposeth all for *his glory*, let man propose what he will——I am assured that whatsoever *God does*, in suffering his adversaries to plot and conspire, the same is best for himself and the cause of his people.——Remember me to good Mr. Harry, who, I know, will think, with myself, (who was ay said to be blyth, as I did witness) that business is going in God's old way.

W A R I S T O N

T O

ADAM HEPBURN OF HUMBIE.

LOVING BROTHER,

I THINK we have so oft warned you to be on your guard, and to expect war rather nor [than] peace, that we need not repeat it, albeit we see daily new grounds of confirming us in that judgment. There is great suspicion of the French their coming hither, and a common report privately, of the Queen going to Portsmouth with 400 or 500 horse. The lower house, after many debates and long delays, has yesternight voiced their bill of finding Strafford's endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws, and introduce an arbitrary government, to be high treason, and carried it unanimously, except 30, or thereabout, of contrary voices; they are to give it up to the Lords; what they will do, God knows; but we hear it commonly reported, that the King himself is to go to both houses to intercede for his life, and to give them many fair words. The lower house has been so busy with this, as our business has been hitherto shifted, but now is to come in. The greatest opposition by the King is made against the act of oblivion*, which he will either have universal, or

* See Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, B. iii. P. 182—184.

none at all, or will reserve as many amongst us, as we reserve of those that are *with him*. The Duke of Lenox, in the higher house, moved a large discourse on all these *different* members; it is easily known from whence it comes. My Lord Traquair, as he professed once to myself, and another time to Mr. Henderson, that he could challenge the Earl of Rothes of treason; and he hath said once to me, and, as my Lord Rothes knows from others, he said it also to the King, that before he perished he would mix heaven, and earth, and hell together. Some of his friends have told, that he has challenges of treason against sundry of our number. The King has spoken both to — and Mr. Pym, and told that he would reserve as many as we did, perhaps would be better, and only reserve 3 for our 4 called incendiaries. It is universally surmised, that my Lord Rothes is one, Argyle is suspected to be another, it is not known whether London be one, I am thought certainly of the number, and either Sir Thomas Hope, Robert Meldrum, or you; it is thought that Balmerino is not forgot. However, for ought we can conjecture, the accusations come from home. The King says that he will go to the Parliament-house, declare their names, shew their crimes of treason, by their letters or papers, and witnesses at home, (who sometimes are said *to be* noblemen witnesses, who are no doubt the leaders of your banditti, seeing the accusation is like to the narrative of the bond against some few persons.) He says he will not meddle with their persons here, but remit them to their

own Parliament. But it is hard to believe, that any who counsel the King to accuse any of us of treason, but will counsel him also to lay us fast, as pledges of the Scots army remaining quiet; neither do I see, if any of us be once accused of treason, how the persons accused can go in the treaty, but should come home, and let your committees send in their stead whom they please, or do otherways as they think fit. Those of us who favoured Traquair may sleep sound, and fear no danger; but God help them that are counted his enemies for sticking *so close* by their instructions. I have made an fair offer for myself, that I shall be heartily content to be yoked in one chain with the Earl of Traquair, and let him accuse me, and me accuse him, and let the judgment go free, and the nocent suffer. We have written information for some Lords, and some of the lower house, and as I have said to them, so I say and write to you from the bottom of my heart, that before the Parliament of Scotland were thus frustrated and boasted [threatened] from their pursuit of incendiaries, (whom now, if ever, they may see to be incendiaries) I will rather be content, for myself, this night, to be laid in the Gate-house, and let them do with me to-morrow what they pleased. I will say no more, but that it is a *shame* that any, let be so many of us, should yet be pleading for them; and whereas I was never for their blood, but only for their confession (to save the King and kingdom's honour) if we get these recriminations, I think they deserve justice *rather than* mercy. The King mentions on-

ly Traquair's name, that if we do insist against him, he will make his reservation, but if we pass from him, he will *reserve* none. Ye may see it can be no great treason in regard of sik [such] a compensation. If any of us be accused here, ye shall think what to do with some there, seeing we hear it comes from Montrose; and, as I suspect, it is upon the speeches that past in the meeting of the Estates the first of June, in the dispute, whether to prorogue the Parliament, or to sit still, notwithstanding the King and his Commissioner's absence*.

* This letter was probably written 20th April, 1641.

W A R I S T O N

T O

ADAM HEPBURN OF HUMBIE.

LOVING BROTHER,

SINCE my writing my last with this same bearer, and closing it yesternight, I had occasion, this morning, to speak with M, and after, by his advice, with the King, to whom I told my mind freely of the dangers and inconveniences he might draw himself, by discussing his actions, and forcing men, for their defence, to look over old practices, not so expedient for him; *exoneravi animam meam* to him, and that for others, because as for myself, I told him, that I defied all the world that could lay to my charge any treasonable intention against his person and crown, and renewed my offer to go in chains, with any accuser, to Scotland. His mind seems to be on some projects here shortly to break out; he is certainly put upon this to stick on the act of oblivion, both for to save Traquair, if he grant it, or to ensnare any English whom he apprehends to have had any intelligence with us, if he grant it not*. Afternoon we met all with him; he read to us a fair answer anent

* This is a very remarkable circumstance; it cannot be fully explained, unless one were certain what persons of the English nation corresponded with the Scots, and incited and

the Council and Session, and for the rest told, that he had given as fair answers already as he could, and fairer nor otherwise he would, but *pacis causa*. He told, that he himself would get as much of our money, and security for the rest, if the Parliament did not presently end our business; that he had thought on ways how to get it, that they professed their business depended on them, (and from words of this kind to make us jealous of them.) He told, that if the Parliament of Scotland would prorogue themselves to some diet again, which he is confident they will do, he will assuredly go home himself and settle the business; he has said this, and sworn it too unto us, except some impediment occur, that he knows not of as yet; that he hopes to get his business ended here. Then he fell on the act of oblivion. We read the information, which I sent to you within a letter to Mr. Alexander Colvill. He raged at it, and called us Jesuitical. Then he cried and swore, that if they excepted any, he would except some also; and this he declared over and over again, and professed his hope that the Parliament would be of the same judgment. We answered, in reason, from our inability to pass from what the Parliament had appointed, and from his granting the same already in the treaty. I must tell you my mind of all

encouraged their measures. He who can explain and illustrate this particular, from original papers, will greatly serve the cause of truth.

this business; for ought I can learn from any hand, both this plot of reserving some of us, and this plot of causing the King declare his intention to go home to Scotland, is only to terrify us to pass from Traquair, and is suspected (I will say no more, nor accuse any man) to come from some of our own number, with Traquair's advice; and albeit it were a reality, that not only processes should be reserved against us, but also we were laid fast, I cannot but must write it again to you, for the exoneration of my own conscience; therefore no such thing ever ye harbour so base a thought as to be thus threatened and dung [forced] from the Parliament's pursuit of incendiaries, which, *in jure*, (for those that are named by the Parliament, and especially Traquair, protested against that in the last prorogation) neither we, nor ye there, can do, or has power in law to do. Some amongst us would terrify us with this project of the King's own presence, as able in Scotland to reverse all that is done, except the acts of the Assembly, and to gain such a party in Scotland, as to put honest men in hazard. God forgive them puts such hopes in the King's head, albeit in reality I do not, nor others more understanding doth believe, that the King has any intention (for all that is said) to go in person to Scotland. Let us again be enjoined to do our duty, and shew your firm resolution, the rather to follow forth the incendiaries for these very motions by the King, and stops to the treaty, as to preserve that business safe to the Parliament, and let them do then what they please, after we have

done our part; and I will profess plainly, that before ever I condescend to the passing by of these incendiaries now, till the Parliament determine, I shall rather consent to the King's reserving a thousand of our number. Haste up your answer to us, and show this and my former letter to General, [Leslie] Caffillis, Lindsay, and Sir John Meldrum. Be sure this letter meet me not again, only tell them the news, or read it to them. I am sure I am in as great hazard, and as much feared and hated both, by Traquair, as any of our number, here or there; but, I thank God, I know not what it is to be feared in this business, while I do my duty. Look to your army, and be on your guard; if they could get an opportunity to rub an irreparable affront on you, paper bonds would be soon broken; if they find you circumspect, it is thought their designs——will be hitherwards. There is some motion, as I hear, of the King's desire to adjourn the houses for ten days, on pretext of the festival days; but, as I hear, the lower house will not adjourn. To-morrow they give up their bill of treason to the Lords. There is some of our articles against the peace debated in the upper house, and likely to be agreed. My Lord Dunfermling has been twice thrice with the King; Mr. Alr. was a long time with him. God forgive them that invents such projects or tricks (for I think they shall be found empty boasts) to bring off so evil an instrument, for his reputation, to the dishonour of the kingdom; I will not say that any of them, or any other of Traquair's servants, have projected this to the

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King ; I dare not say it, because I know it not ; but I am sure fundry have said it, and some others suspect it ; howsoever, God willing, some of us (albeit we should be left alone, and be never so calumniated) shall return home with this testimony of our own mind, that we have adhered to our instructions from them that sent us, and I believe every one will say as much for himself. God guide the business right, keep you stout in your directions to us, and circumspective to your intestine hypocrites and foreign enemy. After reading this, for my exoneration to Balmerino, send it to him, within your own, that he may thereby waken his lawyers to be the more diligent and intent. In haste.

Your loving brother.

21st April, at night

W A R I S T O N
TO
L O R D B A L M E R I N O.

THE King continues in his professed humour of reserving so many of us from the act of oblivion, if we insist on the reservation of incendiaries. If this be brave work, that any of our number should be on these tricks, to boast us from the Parliament's pursuit, by apprehension of our own danger, it were now an acknowledgment of our own guiltiness, and dishonouring of the cause, ever to pass from them on these threats; let never so base a thought enter in the head of any of the committees, albeit ye heard it was a reality, as it is but a boast put in the King's head by Traquair, who threatned often to recriminate with challenges of treason, if we insisted against him. I would rather, for myself, who will be first in Traquair's roll no doubt, be laid fast in the Gatehouse, and carried to the hill, before ever I wronged the Parliament, the cause, and my own innocence so far, as to force the King's reservation of me out of the act to be processed, to yield to the scraping out his name; if the Parliament, after consideration, ended his business one way or other, God is my witness I have no malice, nor particular end, but only that the honour of the kingdom be preferred to his point of honour. Command us to be stout; be diligent with your cause; pre-

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pare your armies. Let not this other trick *terrify* you, of their causing the King profess he would come to Scotland himself for to settle business, which is a trick of theirs also to terrify us for fear of factions at home to grow by his presence. The lower house has given up their bill, grow in daily strength *, will not rise ; we [they] have Strafford's life, are thinking on monies for us. This in post-haste. Lord encourage and direct them.

Your Lordship's humble servant.

22d April, [1641.]

* This is not distinctly written in the original.

W A R I S T O N
TO
L O R D B A L M E R I N O.

MY NOBLE LORD,

~~THE~~ King, yesterday, having answered us anent the Council and Session, and professing he would get us money, if the Parliament did not, told us of his intencion to come to Scotland, if the Parliament would prorogue another month for him; and after that urged us to pass from the article of oblivion, or the reservation therein against incendiaries, or else he would (as he said and swore) reserve as many. He raged when we told our inability to pass from any whom the Parliament had named and caused cite, especially Traquair, who was protested against even as to the prorogations, and remembered him of his former grant of the same, in the fourth demand anent incendiaries. My Lord, I perceive, from fundry hands, that both this threatning of reservations of us, and this mentioning his intencion to keep himself the Parliament in Scotland, is a trick of Traquair's, by the advice of some of our own, for to terrify us, what with our own danger by that reservation of persons, and the danger of the country by factions at home, which would grow by the King's presence, to pass now from the incendiaries; and this is but a boast; [an empty threatning] and albeit it were a reality (as certainly neither affairs

here will permit, neither has the King any inward intention to go to Scotland) as I writ to Newcastle my judgment freely in conscience, I would rather he reserved one hundred. I send you the copy of our information to some Parliament-men, which was read also to the King, but whereat some of our number appear mightily offended; I hope they will let you see reason for their standing to it; also I————as much of this letter and information as I may be confident that———— from the committee at Edinburgh to pass from incendiaries; and laid my own feet fast, and more also, before ever so base a thought, and so unworthy an act, fell out in the hands of any of the committees, as thus to be boasted and dung [forced] from the Parliament's pursuit of the incendiaries named by themselves in their act, which is not a thing within the power of the committee, let be of ours, and for the which ye might all be censured. I think that their tricks, stopping the treaty, demonstrate them so really to be incendiaries, as ye should rather renew your strict injunctions for sending them home. If the King intended peace, he would not stand on this, and from which it is likeliest that he intends war; whether we yielded in that *or not*, war would we have. I think *I be one most* soon to be pursued by Traquair, and so is yourself one of those whom the King would reserve on Traquair's information, who professed to fundry his having challenges of treason against so many of us; my Lord Rothes is certainly one, as Traquair often has vaunted him-

self, Argyle is suspected to be another. Except the fear of your own hazard from Traquair's boasts move you to send us instructions to pass from him, I think neither honour, nor conscience, nor duty, can move any; and I believe ye love not to be thus boasted. Fy on us, that any of us should be on their devices, for to save the honour of an evil instrument, to the prejudice of the honour of the whole kingdom, lying under the blame of treason and rebellion, except to be brought to an acknowledgment. Command us to be resolute in this pursuit, against all boasts and threatnings. Be diligent with your cause. I think the Parliament should, by way of injunction, lay a necessity on Sir Thomas Nicolson to plead that cause for the commonwealth. I would request you (with the greatest secrecy that can be) to cause try if all the honours and registers were left in the castle, that ever had been in it, or if any of them be wanting; if Traquair and the Clerk-Register have taken them away, this were a fact of clear treason in the judgment of all, and I suspect they be guilty of some such thing, but it would be kept closed, without revealing to any, till the very day of his appearance. I have some grounds to suspect this, as I shall tell you, if it please God that we meet. It is thought there is some present plot to break forth here. The Parliament will not rise, for ought we can learn, albeit they be commanded. Yesternight the lower house, after final voting formally their bill of attainder, gave it up to the Lords, with this declaration, that they would protest against them

if they did not give them a speedy and satisfactory answer. The Londoners bill for justice is given in after it. The Londoners offered to guard the Parliament with 5000 men, if they will, on apprehension of dissolution, come in to the Guild-hall within the city. There is some report of the Queen's shipping down to Portsmouth with her plate, and of the King's sudden posting some day to his army, to whom there is some new oath of absolution following him sent down. The lower house would not condescend that the officers should go down. The Parliament is to fall to our demands, and to get us money. God is going on in some hid way for his Son's crown, it will break forth. I thank God that kept my spirit fair above all fears, either national or personal. The Lord direct you to be preparing for a storm.

Your Lordship's real servant,

A. J.

22d April, [1641.]

PART OF A LETTER
 FROM
 LORD BALMERINO
 TO
 A PERSON UNKNOWN.*

— AMONG other mysteries of these times, one seemeth strange, that some, having no principles of religion to lead them, should fall fairer in the present course of church-affairs, than others that have both professed and practised, both done and suffered; but as *crimen ambitus* is against our covenant, so I see φιλαργυρία παντῶν τῶν κακῶν ἔστι, I have retained so much of the Liturgy as to say, “ Good Lord deliver us.”

* I cannot ascertain to whom this letter was addressed, nor at what precise period it was written; neither will I presume, upon simple conjecture, to determine against whom the charge of a loose life with great seeming zeal, of ambition, and of avarice is here brought. In justice to Balmerino, it must be acknowledged that he seems to speak the language of sincerity.

E A R L O F R O T H E S

T O

W A R I S T O N.

WORTHY FRIEND,

My Lord Loudon is to take journey homewards upon Monday, who is to receive some particular instructions from his Majesty, and I believe he will desire you not to do that which may make his dealings ineffectual; and therefore you may keep up your worst against Traquair till you speak with his Lordship. We have had hard work with the King, Loudon will acquaint you with the particulars. If there be any mistakes of the carriage of my Lord Loudon, or me, or any of your friends here, you will inform the truth, according to your knowledge, which is the desire of

Your affectionate friend,

R O T H E S,

London, 25th June,

1641.

Loudon comes not away till Monday——My business I have entrusted to you to prepare the Earl of Argyle and Balmerino; for if I defer to accept the place*, times are uncertain and disposi-

* Of Lord of the Bedchamber to the King, as appears from Lord Clarendon's history.

tions; if Argyle and Balmerino be pleased, then you may labour to move Lothian and Lindsay; signify how it was the Marquis Hamilton, with Roxburgh, and William Murray their motion to me, from the sense of the good of the kingdom, and that I suffered them to *move* in it; it is true it is nothing within the kingdom, and so is not liable to the letter written to us not to accept benefices, which can only be meant within the kingdom. Yet I desire never to be in a condition my comrades shall not approve, nor to be in a better condition than they shall wish me. I hope in his mercy that his honour shall be ever before my eyes above all things, and shall make his service my chief endeavour. Let me hear from you with the first occasion. Urge your opinion freely to me, and if they have any exceptions at me, let me know it; for, on my honour, I have not deserved evil at their hands, nor failed in any jot of my duty, to my knowledge; but this is an age of unjust censuring.

GENERAL DAVID LESLIE

TO

MR. THOMAS HENDERSON.

—BECAUSE you desire me to be plain with you in this, and to communicate my mind, I will be free, that for my own part, I desire not upon any terms to have command in my own country, for many reasons. First, it is not possible to me, nor any man to carry himself so that he shall or can please all men, as is to be seen of those that have gone before me. Secondly, I have great ones to my enemies in that kingdom. Thirdly, his Majesty, with all reverence, would see me hanged. And last of all, I can live abroad, and get preferment with honour. Yet for all this, they who have done so much for me shall command me in that cause I have sworn to, in spite of all greatness, malice, or whatsoever, to undergo any thing for the maintenance of the *cause*, not doubting but God will give a blessing thereto, beyond the expectation of all its enemies; and that I should speak any more concerning myself, in that particular, I will not, but refer myself to God and my friends, knowing nothing can be done but to his pleasure. And I would *advise* the well-affected party be wise in what they do concerning the soldiers, in regard they will be easy to be tempted, and many tempters; I mean, that what shall be kept a-foot, shall be taken out of all the regiments, and that the best,

GEN. LESLIE TO MR. HENDERSON. 139

and at least 2000 horse; that 500 should be put off a fortnight after, and within a month as many, and so forth; the rest as occasion shall offer. This is the opinion of him who desires to hear from you, and rests,

Your loving friend and servant,

DAVID LESLIE.

I have written a letter of thanks to London, and another to my Lord Advocate.

Durham, 15th December,

KING CHARLES I.

TO

THE MAGISTRATES OF GLASGOW.

TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED, WE GREET
YOU WELL.

SINCE nothing on earth can be more dear to us than the preservation of the affection of our people, and amongst them none more than these of our native kingdom; which as the long and uninterrupted government of us and our predecessors over them, doth give us just reason in a more near and special manner to challenge from them; so may they justly expect a particular kindness from us in every thing which may contribute to their happiness; but knowing what industry is used, by scattering seditious pamphlets, and employing private agents and instruments, to give bad impressions of us and our proceedings, and, under pretence of a danger to religion and government, to corrupt the fidelity and affections, and to engage them in an unjust quarrel against us their King; we cannot therefore but endeavour to remove these jealousies, and secure their fears, from all possibility of hazard to either of these from us. We have therefore thought fit to require you to call together your fellow-burgeesses, and all such others as have any dependance upon you, and, in our name, to show them our willingness to give all the assurances they can desire, or we possibly grant,

(if more can be given than already is) in preserving inviolably all these graces and favours which we have of late granted to that our kingdom; and that we do faithfully promise we will never rule to the contrary of any thing there established, either in the ecclesiastical or civil government; but that we will inviolably keep the same according to the laws of that our kingdom; and we do wish God so to bless our proceedings and posterity, as we do really make good and perform this promise. We hope this will give so full satisfaction to all that shall hear this our solemn protestation, that no such persons as study division, or go about to weaken the confidence betwixt us and our people, and justly deserve the name and punishment of incendiaries, shall be *screened* from the hands of justice, and all such others as shall endeavour peace and unity, and obedience to us and our laws, may expect that protection and increase of favours from us which their fidelity deserves. So, expecting your care hereof, we bid you heartily farewell.

From our Court at Oxford,
April 21st, 1643.

EARL OF LANERICK

TO

THE MAGISTRATES OF GLASGOW.

ASSURED FRIENDS,

His Majesty was pleased to command me to convey unto you this inclosed letter from him, wherein he fully expreſſeth his gracious reſolution of preſerving inviolably what he hath eſtabliſhed amongſt us in church and ſtate. I will never ſo much injure your affections to his Majesty's ſervice, as to believe you, or any in your town, will ever queſtion the truth of theſe his Majesty's gracious expreſſions toward you, but that you will receive them with ſuch thankſulneſs as you may encourage him to continue and increaſe his favour toward you, wherein none ſhall think themſelves happier to be an inſtrument than

Your ſervant

and fellow-burgeſs,

LANERICK.

Hamilton, 24th May,
1643.

PART OF A LETTER
FROM
A PERSON UNKNOWN
TO
WARISTON.*

——— Sir John Hotham is expected here every day, being sent up by sea; he hath been ever known to be a covetous proud man, and his end is like to be answerable. There is good store of money found with him in Hull, they say 30,000*l*. It is evident he was near a fall. After the taking and escape of his son, he wrote a letter to the Speaker in such a high rhodomontado stile, as that it was no less than threatning; he began thus, "Lieutenant General Hotham is seized upon by thirty or forty rogues and Anabaptists; if by your order, I require reparation; if by order of the house, I do likewise require satisfaction from their justice; if by order from the General, I do still demand reparation even in the highest." It was a great and good providence of God that

* This letter was, in all probability, addressed to Wariston; it mentions various occurrences in the war, the position of armies, and the like: but the editor has published those parts only which tend to shew the characters of men, or the sentiments of parties.

that hath secured the place of Hull. — Surely howsoever the event of this quarrel may seem to be doubtful, by reason that providence balances the success alternatively; yet it is very remarkable that never any plot hatched against the Parliament hath escaped discovery; they have all proved abortive.

I think at last the committees will be sent to you. The late news of Lord Fairfax his loss † made them advance their pace in the dispatch of that business. If they could do the business by themselves, they would save you a labour, and themselves much money, and some credit. But regard not that; they cannot be blamed for desiring to have the honour of settling their own reformation; but if God will have it so, that you must participate in the glory of the work, be not backward to his call, nor wanting to yourselves; it seems to me that this must be your part; by assistance and help of strength to carry on this reformation here, and by a powerful mediation to reconcile King and Parliament, whose quarrel is but collateral; because the Parliament intends reformation and defence of religion, and Papists and other enemies both of religion and reformation prevail in abusing him, to make him believe that his greatness and authority is aimed at. You who formally of late cleared yourselves from such false aspersions, will be very fit mediators to undeceive his Majesty, and clear this Parliament. — Sir

† At the action near Tadcaster.

Willam Waller is as great a terror to them [the royalists] as Scanderbeg was to the Turks.*—— This day also Sir Philip Stapleton and Colonel Goodwin came from the Essexian army, brought a letter from the General to the house, giving account of the passages in Buckinghamshire, how he could not engage the enemy to fight, by reason he prevails in horse, which by their excursions molest the country infinitely; that the houses, if they think fit, might do well to try his Majesty again, if he will condescend to their former propositions, if not, that he would withdraw his person, and appoint a day and a place that these two armies may decide it. This letter gives no great satisfaction, and the rather because this principal army doth little, and Sir William Waller so much. Tomorrow the houses will debate upon the letter: *Unus homo nobis cunctando*, &c. will not serve at all times.—— There was never a good cause more basely betrayed, than men, and that not a few, have offered to do this; but the more thanks and glory to God, that maintains it still, and will finish it happily. I hear even now that Sir James

* This may serve to illustrate an observation made by Lord Clarendon, B. vii. "They who looked upon the Earl of Essex as a man that would not keep them company to the end of their journey, had their eyes upon Sir William Waller, as a man more for their turn, and were desirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipse the other."

Ramfay is come up; there is much need of him in Essex's army, in which there is not an officer of the field, but himself and Sir John Merrick, the General of the ordnance. The Earl of Peterborough, Marshal of the field, is dead, Sir William Balfour sick; there hath been no General of the horse since Bedford quit it. I had forgotten the Serjeant Major General Skippon, a very honest man, but a low country soldier. *

Doubtless you wonder that the committees so long ago designed are not sent, and I cannot satisfy you with the true cause of so long stay; sure, in such a case, they [the Scots] must know there is no manner of reason *ut nolenti fiat beneficium*; but let no delays out of necessity, by reason of emergent disturbances, or otherways, abate their zeal to the public weal and peace of both kingdoms, chiefly in what concerns religion. Be ready in your stations, that when you see God's cause requires, you may put to your hand.

We hear his Majesty hath of late made some noblemen, as two of the chief delinquents to the Parliament, Mr. Percy, Baron of Alnwick, and Mr. Wilmot, I know not of what title.

10th July, 1643.

* The meaning probably is, that Skippon having been bred in a regular army, was inclined to act with caution and slowness: this did not suit with the impatience of zealots.

PART OF A LETTER
 FROM
 MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
 TO
 MR. WILLIAM SPANG,
 MINISTER OF CAMPVEER IN ZEALAND.

— OUR present posture here is this; when the cunningness of Rothes had brought in Montrose to our party, his more than ordinary and evil pride made him very hard to be guided; his first voyage to Aberdeen made him swallow the certain hopes of a Generalate over all our armies; when that honour was put upon Leslie, he incontinent began to deal with the King, and when we were at Dunslaw had given assurance, and was in a fair way of performance, (had not the honesty and courage of Marshal prevented it) to have given over the whole north to the enemy. When our voyage to Newcastle came in hand, by his damnable bond, he thought to have sold us to the enemy; thereafter he was ever on correspondence for our ruin; Allaster Macdonald * was the smallest string in his bow, and a design which he least trusted in; but God resolving to humble us, who were beginning

* Sir Alexander Macdonald of Kolquitto, of the Antrim family.

to swell with our great success in England, and on base partialities to be filled with emulation and factious heart-burnings, he would demean us with no more honourable rod; some 1500 naked Scots Irishes having loppin from isle to isle, till at last getting away through Badenoch, they broke down on Strathern. The country forces of Fife and Strathern were three to one, well armed on Tippermoor, had horse and cannon, but the treachery of Kilpont, and especially Sir John Drummond, together with Elcho's rashness, delivered all that tumultuous people, and their arms, in the enemy's hands, without stroke: a great many burgeses were killed, 25 householders in St. Andrews only; many were bursten in the flight, and died without stroke. At Aberdeen 400 of the Fife soldiers well near routed the whole enemy, but being ill seconded by the burgeses of Aberdeen, they fled also; Marshal and the gentry of the country, the Forbeses, and the Frazers, lay by as well content; Gordon, by Argyle's great mistake, having the commandment, whereof, through his own haughtiness, and treachery of his followers, he made no use at all, a great many Aberdeensmen were killed, and the town ill plundered. You heard what followed that strange coursing, as I remember, thrice round about from Spey to Athole, wherein Argyle and Lothian's soldiers were tired out; the country, harrassed by both, and no less by friends than foes, did nothing for their own defence.

Whether through envy and emulation, or ne-

gligence, or inability, Argyle's army was not relieved as it should, himself was much grieved, so that he laid down his commission, which neither Lothian nor Callendar, for any request, would take up; so Baillie was forced to take it, or it must have lain. In the mean time, the enemy, after their long storm, scorning to fall down on Glasgow, turned to Argyle, and came thro' it all without opposition, burnt Inverary, killed and spoiled what they pleased; the world believed that Argyle could have been maintained against the greatest army, in a country inaccessible; but we see there is no strength nor refuge on earth against the Lord. The Marquis did his best to be revenged; with an army sufficient overtook the rogues in Lochaber, at Inverlochy; we hoped they might easily have been defeat; but behold the indignation of the Lord! Argyle, having a hurt in his arm and face, gotten by a casual fall from his horse some weeks before, whereby he was disabled to use either sword or pistol, was compelled by his friends to go aboard his barge; his cousin Auchinbreck took the leading of his army; no appearance but of courage and success; yet no sooner did the enemy set on, but all our people, overtaken with a pannaic fear, without any necessity, turn back and fly; Auchinbreck, a stout soldier, but a very vicious man, and many special gentlemen of Argyle's friends were killed. This disaster did extremely amaze us. I verily think had Montrose come presently from that battle, he should have had no opposition in all the Highlands, in the Lennox and she-

rifdom of Air, Glasgow, Clydesdale, scarce till he had come to Edinburgh. But God, in mercy to us, put other thought in his heart; he went incontinent northward, did what he was pleased as far as Murray, got the Gordons, Grants, and many of the clans to join, Seaforth also came to his camp; his hopes were, and we had reason to fear it, that having the half of Scotland in his power, he, with a great army, would march the high way southward.

Before this time our people did not well awake; our Parliament had trifled much time in needless debates; Sir John Smith and divers burgeses had debated too much, for their own ends, upon the excise; Lindsay, by the burrows, to please the Treasurer, was made President in Lauderdale's place, whom the stone had removed, to our great loss and regret; he was not so able to dispatch business. Emulations and heart-burnings about particulars hindered much our affairs in a most dangerous time. The country was exceedingly exhausted with burthens; and, which was worse, a careless stupid lethargy had seized on the people, so that we were brought exceedingly low. In this lamentable condition we took ourselves to our old rock; we turned ourselves to God; the Assembly sent a printed warning to the country, well penned by Mr. Gillespie; we wrote a free admonition to the Parliament of their jealousies and divisions, which, though it took not away the root, yet did it fnd many of the branches of the evils complained of; Baillie was enabled to move, and written

to by the Assembly; Marshal also was put in the best posture might be; the Parliament had adjourned that the war might be better followed; and in this case left I Scotland, with a heart full of perplexities.

You know how graciously the Lord brought me through the seas; the storm which before had been so extraordinary, that many there thought we had been cast away, when we came from you, we were exceeding welcome, but found our affairs in an exceeding ill posture; the credit of our nation impaired; sensible neglects, and real ground of complaint, daily offered us, in many occurrences, private and public, that would have tempted greater patiences and wisdoms than was national to us; yet we resolved to go on as we might, waiting when God would blink upon Scotland; for we knew as God helped us there, our affairs here would mend. It was a matter of exceeding joy unto us to hear of the disaster that Montrose got at Dundee, and of the posture of our country at last, according to our minds, after the flight of the enemy, the killing of 4 or 500 of the best of the Irishes, the dissipating of most of the Scots Highlandmen, the loss of their ammunition, and most of their arms, Baillie, with the one half of the army, is gone to Athole, to keep them from that starting hold; Horrie, with the other half, with Marshal and the north country, is towards Aberdeen; Lawers and the Murray-men are to keep in another turn; Argyle, with a regiment of his own, and 1500 from Ireland, is to the Highlands.

So, by God's help, in a little time, we hope to get such order of these our troubles, that Scotland shall be in peace, and send back the soldiers now it makes use of, with such increase, that Leslie, with a better army than he has yet commanded, shall make over Trent, and Monro to Conaught and Munster.

The English look on us already much more chearfully than of late. We pity their rash and unadvised feebleness; and yet, thanks to God, we have been constant to do all duties to them, in the midst of all their ingratitude and provocations; we resolve they will, at last, by our actions, see their obligations to us.

This new-modelled army consists, for the most part, of new unexperienced soldiers; few of the officers are thought capable of their places; many of them are sectaries, or their confident friends; if they do great service many will be deceived. Some have great fears, not only of their design to strengthen the party of the sectaries, so that it may not safely be displeased, but also of composing with the King, to the prejudice of us and all our friends here. Yet I hope these fears are groundless. Sundry wise men, whom I speak with, believe that the new army is not so full of sectaries as is said, and, however, are assured of their honesty and obedience to the Parliament; also, if any disaster should befall them, which, with our daily prayers, we heartily deprecate, they hope that our army, well recruited with forces from Scotland, and much strengthened by a multitude

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG. 153

of good officers, which partly have left, partly are out of the English army, shall, by God's help, be enabled to do their business, and settle peace here ere it be long.

London, April 25th,
1645.

L O R D B A L M E R I N Q

T O

W A R I S T O N

MY LORD,

I WILL not vex you with the repetition either of our hopes or fears, which you will hear so fully from others, in confidence that he who delivered us from the lion and the bear, will also rid us of the uncircumcised Philistines, who are, I hope, obdured to their ruin, though to our humiliation. It hath been no small vexation to this poor kingdom, both in body and mind, and a heavy charge to these few left here. It would break a hundred hearts to see the general security of all, both here and elsewhere, and the particular respects and selfishness of some, which if the Lord do not pity, we may meet with *Athanasii nubecula* sooner than we think. I got but warning this afternoon from Mr. George Halyburton to have my letters ready for him before night; I will only therefore remember you of that I told you before your last parting hence, for engaging the Hollanders with us in Ireland, whereof you have a fair ground from General Major Monro's letters sent you from this committee; the town of Galway, and others, being in Inchequin's land, would be excellent invitations, as cautionary towns for them: and if your confident friends be not forward to entertain this motion, their intentions toward our satisfac-

L. BALMERINO TO WARISTON. 155

tion may be suspected ; and without some such supply as that we may give over ; for the borrowing of money is dried, and the excise is like to be unfortunate first and last. *Vigilate et orate, vale ut velit tuus,*

J. BALMERINO.

Edinburgh, 9th September,

[1645.]

ALLAN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL
TO
SIR JAMES GRANT OF FREUCHIE.*

RIGHT LOVING COUSIN,

MY hearty recommendations being remembered to your honour; I have received your honour's letter concerning this misfortunate accident that never fell out, betwixt our houses, the like before, in no man's days; but, praised be God, I am innocent of the same and my friends, both in respect that they gi't [went] not within your honour's bounds, but [only] to Murray-land, where all men take their prey; nor knew not that Moynes was a Grant, but thought that he was a Murray-man; and if they knew him, they would not stir his land, more than the rest of your honour's bounds in Strathspey. — Sir, I have gotten such a loss of my friends, which I hope your honour shall consider, for I have eight dead already, and I have twelve or thirteen under cure, whilk I know not who shall die, or who shall live, of the same. So, Sir, whosoever has gotten the greatest loss, I am content that the same be repaired, to [at] the fight of friends that loveth us both alike——and there is such a trouble here among us that we can-

* This letter and the following one were communicated by James Grant of Grant, Esq;

LOCHIEL TO FREUCHIE. 157

not look to the same, for the present time, while
[until] I wit who shall live of my men that is un-
der cure: So not further troubling your honour
at this time, for your honour shall not be offended
at my friends innocence,

S I R,

I rest yours,

ALLAN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL.

Glenlecharrig, 18th October,
1645.

ALLAN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL

TO

THE EARL OF SEAFORTH.

RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD,

I HAVE received your Lordship's letter concerning the unhappy accident that is fallen betwixt the Laird of Grant's men and my kinsmen, which came to our loss both, unknown to me, because I was in Argyle in the mean time: for the Laird of Grant was the only man I love best in the north, because I came lately out of his house, and it [there] came no ill betwixt us finfyne [since] till this unhappiness came lately; therefore I am willingly to refer it to friends that will wish our well both sides, and specially your Lordship be, the principal friend there. But my poor friends had nothing but the defenders parts, because they were in force to fight or die. Not to trouble your Lordship with many words, to farther occasion, commits your Lordship to God's protection.

Your Lordship's assured friend,

ALLAN CAMERON LOCHIEL.*

Lochairkeag, the 27th October,

1645.

Not forgetting my hearty commendation to your Lordship's honourable lady, my aunt.

* It appears that the Camerons made an incursion into the borders of the county of Murray, and spoiled the lands

EARL OF LANERICK

TO

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

REVEREND SIR,

THE occasion of writing with this bearer procures you this trouble, else I should have continued silent, and, at this time, as formerly, trusted to your credit; but calumnies grow now so upon me, that I must beg you would not deny me the continuance of your favourable opinion, in despite of my traducers, how impudent soever they be, until either I clear myself, or God so bless my endeavours, that my actions force them to confess themselves liars. For though none dare nor can justify themselves before God, yet I will profess my intentions of affectionate desires hath still been

of Grant of Moynes, that the Grants overpowered and worsted them. These two letters contain the apology made by the chief of the Camerons for this depredation. If the letters were not perfectly well authenticated, it would seem incredible, that, in the last age, a gentleman of family could both avow such robberies, and justify the robbers; and this the more especially, because at present there are no men more regular and inoffensive than the inhabitants of that part of Scotland inhabited by the Camerons. It is pleasing to reflect on that change of manners which industry and an impartial and steady exertion of the laws have introduced.

160 EARL OF LANERICK TO MR. BAILLIE.

to serve my country in this cause, according to my covenant, without personal end of advantage or benefit to myself, or prejudice to any who have been justly ambitious of being instruments in this cause. I know good, wise, and impartial men will not deny me charity, so I will expect it from you of no longer than I make it my endeavour both to be an honest man, and

Your obliged friend and servant,

LANERICK.

Linlithgow, 26th February,

1646.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

I RECEIVED your Lordship's of the 26th of February from James Hamilton, which, together with the kind and confident expression therein, I acknowledge as an new obligation. What your Lordship desires is very reasonable and just; you may be assured to obtain it easily of me, and of all others with whom I have power; for believe it, now of a long time, at least three months, so far as I remember, I have not heard from any man to your Lordship's prejudice; by the contrary, the other day I heard a larger and more vehement panegyric to your Lordship's commendation, and bitterer invective to the disgrace of some others, than I conceive was needful. If I were beside you, I would use my old pedantic and magisterial freedom, but papers, at so far a distance, in this posture of affairs, are unsafe invoices of free and honest thoughts. Only this much must I say, for all the world sees it, that matters are pitifully miscarried in Scotland. That our shame and skaith [damage] was not so great this 600 years as this last year. We are nothing helped by handing the cause of our miseries from one of you to another; the poor land bleeds and is destroyed, I dare not say, which some charge, as much by the differen-

ces of our friends, as by the hand of the enemy. Yet I am bold to say too too much, and more than the best of you shall ever be able to answer, either to God, or to the world, or to posterity. — It is a silly plea that you are all united in the end, since your debates about the midds [means] make the end in your hand to be lost. If I had any power among any of you, I would in all earnestness obtest, that if any love to God and religion, if any tenderneſs to your poor broken and disgraced country, if any ſenſe of your own honour and ſafety be yet remaining, you would at laſt do what divers times has been eſſayed, promiſed, and begun by every one of you, but performed by none; I mean that all your quarrels might, for a time at leaſt, be laid aſide, that every one of you would cede and ſubmit to another; and cordially join in the common defence. Albeit I be no prophet, yet I think I foreſee, that whoever of you, in theſe ſad times, are readieſt to ſacrifice all your ſelf-intereſts to the weal of the public, you ſhall obtain, in deſpite of all oppoſers, in the moſt eaſy and honourable way, all your deſires. But if you reſolve every one of you ſo to look to your own deſigns, and go on in your differences, though all ſhould periſh, among many other unhappy events this will be one, that the people who outlive theſe troubles will curſe all your memories, will gladly conſent to that curſe, which ſomewhere in the world is much deſired and far advanced (though my heart did ever abhor it) that, when kings and princes are brought down, the power and following of the

nobles may be abolished, as that which they have seen and felt not at all to serve for the defence, but clearly for the dividing and ruining of a poor people. Of this enough; I am very hopeful your Lordship will be as ready as any one to lay aside whatever may concern yourself and your friends, till your poor dying country may once be recovered, that in the life and health thereof you may find yourself and them, otherwise, you know well, neither you nor they can be safe. I hope, against the General Assembly, to see your Lordship, when I shall be able to tell you all my mind of affairs, both private and public. In the mean time, I remain

Your Lordship's

affectionate friend and servant,

R. B.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

——— You will have it from many hands, and I cannot but advertise you also, that the prevalent party desires nothing so much as the King's refusing any one of the propositions: it is the sense of all I meet with, that if the King should delay to grant the propositions, this people will declare against him, and reject him forever from being King. The Prince his going to France does much imbitter them, and furthers that which is the design of many, to abolish monarchy, and settle themselves in a new kind of popular government. If the King will presently pass all the propositions, I find the most very willing that he should return, and be received with so much power and honour, as may, in a little time, bring him to all his just and pious desires. He deceives himself exceedingly, if he expect any divisions here in haste; all will agree, if he remain obstinate, to ruin him and his family, and all who adhere to them; while this fear be secured by appearance, this people will be one. Divers, from whom least I expected it, are for the putting away the whole royal race. The natural respect I have to all great families, and the great love and reverence that I ever carried to the King's person, makes me grieve and fear much at this time. When I look upon the disposition of all

men whom I know, I see nothing but ruin for poor Scotland, except the God of heaven help you there to save that poor Prince from destroying of himself and his posterity, against whom he has but too often invoked the name of God; though he should swear it, no man will believe it that he sticks upon episcopacy for any conscience. It was certainly resolved, and expected by all, that the committee should have consisted of the prime lords, and eight of the chief commons, but the insuperable wilfulness of two of our friends has sent down the six that are named, in satisfaction of their private simulations, without any design to harden and irritate the King; this I know to be true; all men are, for the time, in suspense, but ready, upon the King's declaration whatever way, to enter into new thoughts and actions. I think you shall shortly have with you all our three great men, Richmond, Hamilton, Argyle. I doubt not but all three will join to persuade, to their uttermost, the King to do his duty. If this succeed, it would be your next care, for the well of Scotland, to make all these three more real friends than as yet I suspect they are. The Lord help you. So I rest.

It has been the King's perpetual fault to grant his people's desires by bits, and so late he ever lost his thanks. Must we yet wait an oracle from France?

April 24th, 1646.

L 3

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

THE papers you desired I sent with Daniel upon Saturday; I have no more to add unto that than I wrote, but that the commons voted to-day, that our army shall be gone, and that when we go 50,000 l. shall be given us, and other 50 when the garrisons are delivered; this is an evidence, among many more, of this people's intentions towards us. Every circumstance is written daily from the north to our unfriends. There is much talk here by all sorts of people of the King's obstinacy, that he is the longer the worse, and refuses all reason, the faction rejoices herein; this disposition contributes exceedingly to their wished design; all friends are very sorry for it, except God help you, that you have occasion to let us know there is shortly a great change, we will not know whether to turn us; our perplexity for him and ourselves at the present is very great; if he would do his duty, in spite of all knaves, all would in a moment go right; but if God have hardened him, so far as I can perceive, this people will strive to have him in their power, and make an example of him; I abhor to think of it what they speak of execution*; every hour of this delay gives advan-

* This is a very remarkable passage, and deserves the attention of the reader.

MR. BAILLIE TO MR. HENDERSON. 167

page to these men, who make it their work to steal votes to engage the nations, and to make him irreconcilable. It has been his constant unhappiness to give nothing in time; all things have been given at last, but he has ever lost the thanks, and his gifts have been counted constrained and extorted. If Asburnhame be kept we will not be able to abide this people's clamours. But enough of this. A blind man sees that if he resolves to be a mad man any longer, he will be forced to do it within narrower bounds. The Lord be with you in this hardest passage of this work. I rest

Your servant,

R. B.

May 9th, 1646.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

S I R,

— MANY here long to hear the King's resolution, and more to hear the resolution of our nation. If God help you to make him quickly do his duty, this people seem ready to welcome him; but if he shall remain obstinate, or delay much time, it is very like all his people will join against him and all who will take his part. This delay of a declaration from him and us increases jealousies and clamours. The great God help you to soften that man's heart, lest he ruin himself, and us with him. Be assured he must either yield to reason, and altogether change his principles, or else he will fall in tragic miseries, and that without the commiseration of those who hitherto have commiserated his condition. I hope, with the next, at least shortly, to send you my thoughts, as you desired, on King James' declaration. The Lord be with you, and give you council, and a mouth convincing irresistible.

Your servant,

R. B.

May 16th, 1646.

The city remonstrance had a stop, but it is like to be for its furtherance; if that man go now to stickle on bishops and delinquents, and such fool-

ish toys, it seems he is mad; if he have the least grace or wisdom, he may, by God's mercy, presently end the miseries wherein himself and many more are likely also to sink. Let me intreat you for one thing, when you have done your uttermost, if it be God's pleasure to deny the success, not to vex yourself more than is meet; *si immundus vult vadere*, &c. When we hear of your health and courage it will refresh us. Go matters as they will, if men will not be saved, who can help it? And yet you know that I was never among these who had greatest aversion from his person, or least sympathy with his afflictions; if he be resolved to stop our mouths, and bind our hands, that we can neither speak nor do for him, let him go on so to make himself and us miserable; there is a better life coming; but woe to these villains who have bewitched, poisoned, and infatuated a good Prince, for his own and so many millions ruin; we are in a fair way, and daily advance into it, if his obstinacy spoil not all the play. God's will be done,

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

SIR,

I HOPE you got my last with Daniel Carmichael, you have here one from Dr. Burgesse. It now comes near the shock. I am trembling for your * answer to our propositions. I am grieved that your resolutions should depend so absolutely upon France, and that upon a party there who have been so evidently foolish, wicked, and pernicious; your debates upon episcopacy I never took to be conscientious, but merely politic, and a pretence to gain time. I hear France has or will lose that scruple of conscience very easily. Will such base hypocrisy be blessed? The French ambassador is all composed of honesty, and has no other errand but peace, yet I do no ways like this his almost abrupt running to you at so unseasonable a time. The passing of the proposition for episcopacy will not do your turn now. You have that good property to do all out of time. Though you pass the militia and Ireland, that will not do it neither. We † would beg of you to stand upon any one thing; let the French persuade you to do it, and we shall bless them; for it is our only fear that you pass

* That is, King Charles's answer.

† That is, the Independents.

all, and so quickly return and be our masters; but stick upon any thing we have sent, we shall quickly establish ourselves in a republic, and forswear Kings for ever; for you have been so excessively bloody and false, that God and man call for your execution, especially now, when the world sees your remediless obstinacy, and full resolution to go on in your old false and hypocritical way; better once for all be ridd of you, and all who will take your part. This I find to be the heart of many, whose sense I expected should have been much otherwise. I marvel to see the simplicity of some, who think your condescension in some main things will do your turn; I profess these men whom you will find flatter you in such counsels, I suspect their designs are to ruin the poor Prince for their own ends. Sir, if you have any power, let that man come off very frankly in all things, and he shall have all he ought to desire; will he do it by halves and quarters, he is running to utter destruction; who can help it; yet I must be one of the mourners for it. Sir, give over your disputations, they are but vain; it is near the fool's saying, "They will make Prince Elector of thee." O the madness of blinded men, that no experience will teach them to save themselves and thousands from evident mischief. The Lord help and assist you; do and say what becomes, be the event what it will. All men, I see, seek themselves above any thing either public or private.

Your servant,

July 16th, 1646.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

YOUR sickness has much grieved my heart. It is a part of my prayers to God to restore you to health, and continue your service at this time; we never had so much need of you as now. I have sent you at last my pamphlet; it has stuck on the press these seven weeks, through the sottishness of the printers; our brethren are all content with it; I was altogether averse from intermeddling with it, till you, at your departure, spoke to me about it. But what do I speak of such toys. The King's madness has confounded us all; we are in a woful evil taking; we know not what to do, nor what to say; we know the weight that lies on your heart; I fear this be the fountain of your disease. Yet I am sure if you would take courage, and digest what cannot be gotten amended, and, if after the shaking of melancholy thoughts, the Lord may be pleased to strengthen you at this time, you would much more promote the honour of God, the welfare of Scotland and England, the comfort of many thousands, than you can do by weakening of your body and mind with such thoughts as are unprofitable. ——— The great God fill your heart with strength and comfort from his own face. Thus I rest

Your most loving brother and servant, R.B.
London, August 4th, 1646.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

COUSIN,

————— I WAS at Oxford, the best builded and booked university in the world, but the worst provided of learned and orthodox men I know any. We were lately in some good hopes of a happy peace and end of all our troubles, but now we are very near desperate of that, after all possible endeavours by all unanimously, Scots, English, French. So far as yet we know, the King refuses the propositions. We expect on Monday the Chancellor, with Argyle and the commissioners; after their report to the houses we fear sad votes; it will be our endeavours to keep them from sudden conclusions; they take a long time to the smallest affairs, but I fear they be too quick in deposing the King, and setting a day to the Prince; we are at a great nonplus, in very great grief and perplexity; we know not what either to do or say; there is before us a thick cloud of confusion; many of the King's greatest friends think his obstinacy judicial, as if, in God's justice, he were destroying himself. I fear he will down with him and all his posterity, and monarchy also, in this isle. We have very small hopes of doing any more with him, and many thousands more of his best subjects. This is the great joy of the prevalent party, the thing they

panted for with all earnestness. Our griefs and fears are great, and, for the time, we are in great stupidity and astonishment. It will be our endeavour to keep the nations together, albeit we scarce see the possibility of it. Mr. Henderson is dying, most of heart-break, at Newcastle. Our grandees are like to be state-schismatics, and the worst side to be the strongest. A truly pious and really public man is a rare piece upon earth. ——— Grief and anxiety make me cut off. The Lord be with you. ——— So I rest

Your cousin,

R. B

August 7th, 1646.

PART OF A LETTER
 FROM
 MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
 TO
 MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

SIR,

THOUGH I have little purpose yet I could not let George go without two or three lines. Your weakness is much regreted by many here ; to me it is one of our sad presages of the evil coming ; if it be the Lord's will, it is my hearty prayer oft-times, you might be lent us yet for a time, upon the great appearance of our full compliance with this people. The most seems to applaud our carriage toward the King, but how long I doubt. It seems the most here are inclined to declare against the King, and that without much regret. I know no remedy, but a quick message from him to grant all. I wish our meeting at Edinburgh might yet send to him for that effect ; but I fear it to be too late ; I fear in all things he continues extremely unhappy. Montreville and his letters were taken by sea. Bellievre's brother, posting by land, after a sore fall, sent his letters by an express, with the speaker's pass ; yet the man was stopped, and his letters taken from him. The Parliament's agents write still from Paris that the Duke of Lorrain shall winter in England, that Ba-

176 MR. BAILLIE TO MR. HENDERSON.

varia is upon the league, upon the exprefs condition that the King shall no more meddle with the Palatine cause, that 100,000 crowns are sent into Scotland, and from France, by the way of Holland. The belief of these things, how false soever, is equivalent to the truth. Ormond's pacification with the Irish is very unreasonable. The placing of Hobbes (a professed Atheist, as they speak) about the Prince, as his teacher, is ill taken. —

If you see not to it, I fear great divisions among our own States, but our great God can help all these things; his Spirit strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end. So I rest in my hearty love and reverence toward you.

London, August 13th,

1646.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. ROBERT BLAIR.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

—— You must not weary of your charge, as not to go about it chearfully, and to do in it all the good you can in your short time. It is well that Mr. Andrew Ramsay's treatise has done what Mr. Henderson and all the rest of you could not do. But it is a pity that base hypocrisy, when it is pellucid, should still be entertained. No oaths did ever persuade me that episcopacy was adhered to on any conscience. I esteemed all your debates on that subject to be but ridiculous pretexts to gain time, till your last resolutions came from your masters beyond sea; and now, when it is come, are you so wise as to dream that the abolition of episcopacy will do any service? Will that plumb please Scotland so well as to make them join with the malignants against England? Will your new officers of state, new lords and knights, draw that nation at your heels? Have you been so long in the mortar, and beaten so much with the pestle, and yet folly is not yet driven from you? All your friends here lament at your palpable excecation; but all abhor these madmen who will destroy a more than half-destroyed Prince, by betraying him with their flatteries. With much diligence and

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art, and great perplexity, we strive every day to keep the house of commons from falling on the King's answer; we know not what hour they will close their doors, and declare the King fallen from his throne; which, if they should once do, we put no doubt but all England would concur; and if any should mutter against it, they would quickly be suppressed. Do not expect that ever any more messages will come to you from this, if within a very few days you send not hither a simple and absolute grant of all the propositions; without any *if* or *and*, you will quickly obtain your desire, a Martyrdom; a perpetual close prison will, at least, be your portion, and that without the pity of many. If yet you would do what within a few days you will beg on your knees to be permitted to do, but in vain, you might save all. Why is no course taken to declare them infamous for ever that do ensnare the King, by taking any honour, place, or promise, from him, in his present condition? Shall such unhappy traitors be enabled, by any trust in their country, to do mischief? Be obstinate but a little more, and all here will, without any more vexing of themselves, let you play the fool while you live. All that favour the King in England are not worth a button, if he make any more scruple in any of your demands. These false traitorous whisperers that would make the blinded Prince believe that the sectaries are not his extremely malicious enemies, burning for the day to cast him and all his posterity out of

TO MR. ROBERT BLAIR. 179

England, they are impudent liars. I sometimes weep in secret for the inexpressible evils which that man most needlessly is hastening on himself and his whole house, and many thousands of his poor subjects. But, if so it must be, the Lord's will be done. I rest.

August 18th, 1646.

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MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. WILLIAM MURRAY
OF THE BED-CHAMBER.*

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

IT was your pleasure to give me two kind visits in my chamber; what then I purposed to have said to you, but was interrupted therein by these who came in upon us, I have taken the boldness to write it to you in this memorandum, as my observation, from my converse with divers citizens and divines of the best note among the English. I doubt not but you have, from many hands, much more than all this; yet I thought meet you should have this much from me also, in testimony of my freedom with you, and of my love and compassion towards a perishing Prince, and three kingdoms ready to fall in extreme miseries. Nothing doubting of your favourable acceptance, I rest

Your loving friend and agent,

R. B.

* Soon after created Earl of Dysart.

TO MR. WILLIAM MURRAY.

MEMORANDUM FROM YOUR AGENT.

First. **T**HAT what was promised to me, in your name, be really performed. I neither have, nor ever mind [intend] to have any use of your service for myself, yet I should be glad to have that promise performed. God will never be mocked; you shall never be a happy instrument for any good to yourself, or the public, if, after so fair warnings, and great sparing, you will again run in rebellion against God's clear commands, and into treason against your own soul; doubtless a worse evil, if any worse upon earth may be than what lately was very near you, cannot but overtake and fall upon you, if you return to your old ways. My care and diligence for you, in your hardest times, will excuse this liberty.

Secondly. You would be thankful to your master for all his favours to you; flatter him not in his ruin. All with whom I converse, how willing soever to forget bygones if he will take the propositions, yet, I assure you, so far as I can observe, are also willing, without any regret, to have him destroyed if he will go on in his obstinacy. His partial and qualified grants are taken for tricks to make new divisions and parties for the compassing of his former designs, and these things will no longer be born.

Thirdly. It is exceeding provoking that his re-

solutions should, at such a time, depend upon France. Shall nothing within himself, or nothing within this isle, be able to advise him? His kingdom will not be governed by packets from over sea; such open indignities are at no time sufferable.

Fourthly. If he do not desire to ruin the innocent Prince with himself, bring him quickly out of France; or, if this now be not in his power, let Hobbes, and such wicked men, be put from about him, and the best men there be put into his service.

Fifthly. If he will yet join with Ireland, and endeavour divisions in Scotland and here, to embroil all in a new war, rather than take the propositions, then let him know the remainder of love and pity, which in the heart of many yet remains towards him, is ready to be extinguished, and all I know will be most willing to have him, and all who adhere to him, brought to their ruin, without any more compassion.

Sixthly. If you have any love and pity towards poor Scotland, endeavour to divert its engagement in a new war; before such a design can be set on foot, the best of the land, who cannot but oppose it, must be crushed, and this oppression will cry to heaven for more vengeance; and when all the power of that broken and desolate land is brought out, what will it do but destroy itself, and become the infamous instrument of losing to the King and his posterity for ever that which, without their unhappy intermeddling, he might have been persuaded

ed to have accepted, without further trouble or hazard to himself or others? None but fools will dream of a party, to any purpose, in this land; all with whom I speak, put it out of question, that, if a new war should arise, the greatest malecontents here shall either be quickly satisfied, or else be ordered as not to make any opposition to that party which is inclined, and on such an occasion shall be greatly furthered, to exterminate royalty.

Seventhly. I have many good witnesses of my respects to monarchy, and to King Charles's person, above many, if not all my fellows; this conscience makes me the more earnest to have such truths represented to him without disguise, and oft ingeminated in his ears with freedom, as may prevent, if possible, the evident and imminent ruin of his person and posterity. Cursed be all those villains who now will be so mad as to betray, by their wicked compliances, an ill-advised and bewitched Prince.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

MR. WILLIAM SPANG,

— THE false reports which went abroad of Mr. Henderson * I see are also come to your hand; believe me, for I have it under his own hand, a little before his death, that he was utterly displeased with the King's ways, and ever the longer the more; and whoever say otherwise, I know they speak false; that man died as he lived, in great modesty, piety, and faith. —

Oct. 2d, 1646.

* These reports are well known from the positive assertion of Lord Clarendon, B. x. " The old man himself " was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very " deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to " his nearest friends and confidants, and died of grief and " heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed " from his Majesty." Lord Clarendon was at that time in foreign parts, and it is probable was very ill informed as to the sentiments of the Scottish Covenanters, whom he both hated and despised. It is curious to see how many different causes have been assigned for the death of Mr. Henderson. Doctor Barwick says, *Vita Joh. Barwick*. " Hendersonus " autem ipse brevi post diem obiit, ex dedecore, quod a re " male gestâ in hoc conflictu apud Scotos suos in se con-

PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE,

TO

W A R I S T O N

MY LORD,

I HAVE received yours of the 29th of December. The informations which have been made against you, in your violence against his Majesty, have taken such impression, that no man can be heard to speak to the contrary, for the ground that you go upon is so far contrary to his resolution, let the end thereof be never so much for his good; they that press him to condescend to the Covenant, he thinks that they seek his ruin. What reports have been made of your speeches, both public and private, your Lady can inform you; and of the reports of them, who I think will be there before this comes to your hands. Your Lady would not go to kiss his Majesty's hands; she had her own reasons for it, which I could not but submit to, since it was her pleasure. There was no stir here at Newcastle; only there hath been a little grumbling, by some, at the orders that came to the Ge-

"traxerat, ut ferebatur, plane confectus." Thus, according to Lord Clarendon, he died of remorse, according to Dr. Barwick, of shame, according to Mr. Baillie, of vexation. It is more than probable that all these accounts are equally groundless.

neral and Governor, for taking care that all that had carried arms against the Parliament should leave the town and the quarters; how it hath been obeyed, I am confident you will hear it from others. It is said by fundry that Hudson * was in this town, and spoke with Montreville, but what he carried with him is not known; only we have heard, for certain, that he is taken, but not what papers are found with him, nor what he hath confessed. We hear nothing of any resolution his Majesty hath taken to go with the Ambassador †, but it is likely he will take any course before he condescend to the Covenant. It is much to be feared that there will be some difficulty found in getting orders obeyed by the soldiers for retiring of the army, until they see his Majesty settled with honour and safety; for I fear the committee you have sent from the Parliament to his Majesty, and to see the treaties punctually performed, shall neither be very gracious to his Majesty, nor powerful enough to get the treaties punctually performed; for we are likelier to be in a confusion than ever we were. I have and shall make the best use of your letters, for your advantage, I can, but all is heard with a prejudice. It seems the treaty anent [concerning] his Majesty's coming to our army

* Probable Jeffrey Hudson the dwarf, of whom Mr. Walpole has given so entertaining an account in his *Anecdotes of Painting*.

† The French ambassador, just now mentioned.

TO WARISTON.

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will not be suffered to rest; and it is not past the hopes of some, but that it may be ground for to begin a division betwixt the two kingdoms; at the Chancellor's coming here something will appear thereof, So I remain

Your affectionate friend,

and humble servant,

P. MAULE.

2d January, 1647.

PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE,

TO

W A R I S T O N.

MY LORD,

I AM glad that there is any thing settled for the Marquis of Argyle's subsistence, for his sufferings have been both long and great. I can add little to my former letter concerning yourself; I must confess there have been many aspersions laid upon you, and I dare say, most of them calumnies; but business going there contrary to his Majesty's mind, makes him the more willing to believe the reports, and the less willing to hear the contrary; yet friends must still, upon occasions, use their best to inform him right; and though it work not the effect that is desired for the present, yet it may be, if it please God to change his mind, he may remember that honest men spoke truth to him. He is yet resolved to suffer the worst, before he condescend to what is desired*; and I fear, if the Parliament of England stand to the votes of the house, and not be content that your commissioners shall join with them, anent [touching] the resolutions concerning his Majesty, that the kingdom of Scotland will be put to more difficulty therein than they yet think of; for either will they be for-

* As to the covenant. See the last letter.

PANMURE TO WARISTON. 189

ced to take him into Scotland, or else to leave him without conditions, which is thought that the soldiers will never do. I pray God to send some way to bring us off these extremities. So soon as the Chancellor comes, I am confident he will know what may be expected herein. I fear that his welcome here shall not be so much as he hath deserved. [The rest of the letter relates to private business.]

4th January, 1647.

PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE,

TO

W A R I S T O N.

MY LORD,

YOURS of the 16th came to my hand the 19th; but the day before his Majesty had a full information of all that passed in Parliament, with which he was very ill pleased.——I find by his Majesty, that though what is done was past both in Committee and Parliament, yet he attributes the carriage thereof to particular persons, who have endeavoured to their uttermost his ruin, and he cannot but acknowledge their intentions to his good that voted to the contrary, though they did not carry it; in this particular you have your own part of the blame, which is unnecessary for me to write more of it. But I assure you he doth not think that you have discharged that duty and respect to him, that he both deserved and expected from you; and though the Lord Chancellor was not at the passing of these things, yet he will suffer in respect of the actions of his friends. His Majesty is resolved for the worst, and will suffer any thing before he condescend to the Covenant; and it is thought that the Parliament of England will not be so rigid in that point as the Parliament of Scotland is. If his Majesty be once from us it will be found that we will have but an ill game to play; and I pray God we have not cause to repent our

proceedings when it is too late; for certainly his Majesty's affection will be alienated from the nation, and it will be found that we will have little ———* from the kingdom of England. His Majesty thinks himself little obliged to our nation, but more disobliged to some particulars than to the general, and I am confident he will study to resent it; yet I shall never leave endeavouring to give him the best impressions, both of you and your friends, that I can think upon, at all occasions; if it do no good, I am sure it will do no ill. I have written so oft and so fairly, both to my Lord of Argyle and you, of this and all other things, that I can add nothing thereto. [*There follows much about private business.*] His Majesty is so well resolved now for his going to Holmby as ever I saw him for any thing. He thinks that the Scots have sold him at too cheap a rate. If our posterity find not the smart thereof, it is well. But he says that we have absolutely quitted our interest in him. There is so much to this sense spoken, both by himself and others about him, both of late and old standing, that it would appear that they are not good countrymen——

23d January, 1647.

* A word illegible, probably *help* or *pity*.

F I N I S.

NOTES ON THE

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